

THE USE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS BY NAVAL OFFICERS' WIVES:
A STUDY OF ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

BY

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1991

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This dissertation is dedicated to the Navy officers' wives who give so much of themselves to their families, their country, and the Navy. For them it is all guts and no glory.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I never could resist a challenge, which is why I entered graduate school at the age when most women were entering retirement. Like all great challenges, this one could not be met without the help of many special people.

Graduate school is as much an emotional experience as it is an academic one. I would have never overcome the self-doubts and fears without the understanding, support, and guidance of Gene Shelley and Holly Williams. Gery Ryan supplied laughs and a whole lot of computer assistance. These three have enriched my life in more than intellectual ways. Also, I am indebted to Ron Waschmann for his statistical help.

I had excellent committee members. Their academic credentials are impeccable. Dr. Ronald Cohen's expertise in organizations, systems and theory provided the framework for this study. Dr. Gerald Murray, and Dr. Otto von Mering are classic anthropologists who gently led me to a new way of thinking. Dr. Henry Pennypacker taught me that psychology can be exciting and fun. He has reframed the way I look at life.

I am deeply indebted to Dr. H. Russell Bernard, my chairman. He had faith in me from the start. He taught me two critical skills, how to do research and how to write about

it. I especially appreciate his patience throughout the process.

Special thanks to DAY-TIMERS, Inc. in Allentown, Pennsylvania, and in particular Andrew Bollman, for the donation of 50 diaries and notebooks. The diaries were the basic data collecting material and proved their worth.

My thanks to Cathy Keen from the University of Florida Information Services for the media attention she generated on my research.

I never intended to do naval research. I was fresh out of 30 years of Navy life and ready to get on with something for me. My memories were golden, it was a good life, but even good things must end. However, I did not want to spend six months or more away from my husband doing field work. That left research in the Jacksonville area. The Navy was a culture I knew, informants were readily available for me. So, naval research it was.

The research found more shoal waters than anticipated. I got mixed help from the Navy. Active duty personnel were very cooperative, including Captain Joe McCarton who tried. Among the many who helped were Lt. Mary Hanson, Rear Admiral Ronald Jesberg, and Captain Kevin Delaney. There are other names cited throughout the dissertation. The blockers were

the very people who could benefit from research on military families. So goes bureaucracy.

I owe very special thanks to Paula Jesberg. Without her support I might not have received the initial cooperation of the Navy wives.

I am still overwhelmed by the support and interest of the Navy officers' wives who volunteered to participate in this study. Their honesty and willingness to share some of their most emotional and profound experiences gave me not only rich data, but made me very proud of being a Navy wife.

There are a few important people in my life that I owe a debt of gratitude. Mike Marriott never could understand why I wanted to do this, yet he always had a soft shoulder and a hot meal ready for me. Mike was my expert-in-residence. As a retired Navy captain who had three commands, his advice, opinions and experience were invaluable. His biggest sacrifice was proof reading my writing, a chore he passionately disliked. That's love.

Two other great supporters were Minette and Bill. They have the most innocent of faith. They truly believe their mother can do anything she wants. It was this faith that got me through the difficult times.

A few years after I graduated college I met one of my old professors. He was a tall, thin man, with grey hair going in all directions. He was a happy man taken to rocking back and forth in glee while stroking his bushy mustache. He was also

brilliant, a Rhodes scholar whose interests were guided by a thirst for knowledge. He didn't care what his students learned, as long as they learned. There was no knowledge in life he didn't find worthwhile. He asked what I was doing, and what I wanted to do. I told him my dreams, my aspirations. He thought for a moment, then replied..."Well do it." To him there were no unclimbable mountains, only steep hills. He believed in the indomitable human spirit to accomplish the most impossible of tasks...if you want to...and if you work at it. Thank you Dr. Haberly, this one is for you.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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December, 1991

Chairman: Dr. H. Russell Bernard
Major Department: Anthropology

Roles of Navy officers' wives, their incorporation into the organization, and the influence of social changes on these roles are explored in this study.

Officers' wives' social networks are analyzed for function and membership. Findings reveal the organizational responsibilities of the wives and their close tie to their husbands' profession. The wives' networks function as a multi-purpose system among network members and between the wives and the Navy. Through their social networks officers' wives have access to emotional support, information, and economic resources.

The Navy uses the networks to monitor, manage, and measure the emotional and welfare climate of command families. This information enables the Navy to make adjustments in retention and performance policies. The organization uses the

wives' social networks as a communication channel to the families. The key to the operation of this network system is the commanding officer's wife. Data collected during the Persian Gulf war points to the increase role of commanding officers' wives during at sea periods and crises.

Personnel problems arise when the commanding officer's wife is not a network member. Her absence can have a negative impact on command families, naval personnel, and Navy goals.

The description of the organizational responsibilities of officers' wives recognizes differences between sea duty and shore duty roles. Navy personnel structures, the military model, and American cultural values are related to the wives' organizational roles. The two most influential variables in the role of the officer's wife are the type of duty and the rank of the husband.

Ethnographic data address the issue of how wives influence organizational structural changes and what their role perceptions are. Statistical data support the ethnography and emphasize the structural role of the commanding officer's wife.

While the military model and its ensuing personnel policies create the environment for the incorporation of wives, the effects of occupational elements such as sea duty, the ombudsman program, the hierarchical base, and paternalism define the wives' responsibilities.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The Purpose Of The Dissertation

The war in the Persian Gulf (Desert Storm, 1991) focused attention not only on the combatants, but on their families. While the media addressed the plight of the waiting wife, there was little attention paid to her role in the organization. In fact, it is difficult to find any public acknowledgement or description of military wives' organizational roles.

Segal (1986) and others, however, note that the demands made on military wives are real, and officers' wives in particular have role obligations. Logan (1991) focused on the responsibilities of Navy officers' wives. A monograph by Army commanders' wives (Leaders' Wives Speak Out, n.d.) discusses the obligations of senior officers' wives. Admiral Thomas Hayward, as Chief of Naval Operations, informed a group of Navy wives: "I regard you as part of the chain of command" (Snyder, 1978a:21).

All this suggests an organizational role for officers' wives, but the role is difficult to define, for nowhere can be found a list of expectations. Wenska (1990) describes an

attempt by the Air Force to force several officers' wives to accept organizational responsibilities. The outrage that followed resulted in an announcement by the Air Force that wives had no official roles and that organizational activities were voluntary.

The Research Question

Do military wives, particularly officers' wives, have organizational responsibilities? If so, what are they and how important are they to the Armed Forces? What would be the effect on the organization if the responsibilities were not performed? Finally, what effects do current social values have on these wives' roles?

This dissertation addresses these questions with data collected on the social networks of Navy officers' wives. The husbands of the women in the sample population are stationed in the Jacksonville, Florida, area. They represent ranks from Ensign to Rear Admiral.

This research is grounded in the literature on social network analysis, on military personnel theory, and on middle-class American women.

Social Network Analysis Literature

Social network data have two properties that make them suitable for an exploratory study such as this one. They can detect behaviors without biased questions. The data that identify behaviors can also be used to identify social structures, and their associations.

Using Social Network Data to Understand Behaviors

In a series of articles, Bernard et al. (1979/80, 1984) showed that self-reported social network data are inaccurate. In my study I checked written data against verbal data, whenever possible. Nevertheless, inaccurate data is still a problem and must be considered when assessing the results of this study.

People use social networks in a number of different ways, and for many purposes. Granovetter (1973) showed how people used their networks to find out about job possibilities. Dow's (1977) informants used their social networks to locate work supplies in Detroit. Chavez's study (1985) illustrated how immigrants obtained information and economic support.

Social network analysis can also be used to discover hidden social structures. Barnes (1954) used it to define roles and class systems in a Norwegian community. Mitchell (n.d.) determined the relationship between clans of plateau Tongas by tracing their joking behaviors. Bott's study (1971)

on the social network behaviors of married couples resulted in categories of conjugal roles.

Mitchell (1969:2) suggested the use of network theory so that linkages "...may be used to interpret the social behavior of the persons involved." Berkowitz (1982) extended the use of social network analysis theory by suggesting it is interchangeable with structured analysis.

The structural approach has been used to identify how social networks operate in concert with other social structures (Wellman and Berkowitz, 1988; Marsden and Lin, 1982). Bonacich (1987) traced community collective action through social networks.

Galaskiewicz (1982) looked at modes of resource allocation in corporations by studying network links. Lomnitz (1988) defined a parallel production and marketing system that operated through informal exchange networks.

For this study social networks are the "...set of personal contacts through which the individual maintains his [sic] social identity and receives emotional support, material aid and services, information, and new social contacts." (Walker et al., as quoted by Maguire 1983:14). Note that this definition includes both instrumental and affective ties.

In fact, subtle use of social network resources can help moderate stress and provide emotional aid (Dean and Lin, 1977, Tolsdorf, 1976). Oliver (1984) reported that Army battalions with well-organized family support groups had fewer family

related problems. Rosen and Moghandem (1989) found that social support from networks that included other Army wives helped the wives to manage the stress of military separations.

Social networks also affect health. Cobb (1976), established that adequate social network support can lead to a healthier life. Cassel (1976) discovered that people with marginal networks were more susceptible to disease. Eckert (1983) found that mental and physical health were related to characteristics of personal social networks.

Social networks can moderate relocation stress and help in the adjustment to a new environments (Evans, 1980; Jones, 1980). Jones identified strategic ways that newcomers' used their social networks to adapt to a new environment.

Networks are also information transfer systems. Shelley et al. (1991) identified how people use different types of alters (friends and kin) to receive and send different kinds of information. Freidkin (1982) established that weak ties and strong ties offer different access to information. Weak ties are better at obtaining information outside an organization subgroup, while strong ties are better for in-group information.

Social networks are also used to supply information. For example, immigrants use their social networks to gain information on jobs, laws, and resource locations (Trager, 1984; Massey, 1986).

Properties of Social Networks

How many resources can be reached with a social network is unclear. Granovetter (1973) theorized that our reach can exceed our established resource connections. He conceptualized the characteristic of weak ties as a means of extending our reach beyond our usual ties.

Bernard and Killworth, in an attempt to determine the size of networks, have conducted a series of experiments using computerized data-collection modules (Killworth et al. 1990; Bernard et al., 1990). The modules are based on four different network generators: the General Social Survey question, a modified Fisher/McAlister questionnaire (1983), the Reverse Small World instrument, and a version of the Freeman/Thompson telephone book test (Freeman and Thompson, 1989). These authors found that military informants in Jacksonville, Florida, had a mean network size of 179 compared to civilian Jacksonville informants who had 142, and the difference was significant.

Defining the Community

Wellman and Leighton (1979) and Warren (1981) have cautioned against bounding studies by defining communities in traditional ways. Instead, they say communities are self-defined by the personal network connections. Wellman et

al. (1988) go further and argue that personal communities do not have well-defined boundaries. Warren handles the problem by defining communities by multiple linkages and chain reactions.

For Aldrich (1985), a community is defined, or bounded, by roles in an organization. These roles are interpreted by custom and tradition. According to Aldrich, actors move into positions that carry historic precedence. These positions determine interactions.

Social networks of Naval officers' wives fit Aldrich's model. An officer's wife's network has many links with other officers' wives. These links are assigned by her husband's command unit. When the husband reports for duty his wife is placed on the officers' wives' "phone tree." This communication system is used to diffuse social and official information.

The phone tree (or call tree) is inaugurated by people with special roles. An ombudsman, a volunteer appointed by the commanding officer, or the commanding officers' wife may start messages down the tree. The ombudsman and the commanding officer hold official positions in the Navy organization. The commanding officer's wife is regarded by the other wives in the command as a leader, and the wife most likely to have official information. This network actor changes every time there is a unit change-of-command.

Environmental Considerations

Social networks are influenced by cultural norms of the society in which they are embedded. Wellman (1988) was able to understand the social networks of East Yorkers only after he established their community behaviors. Fisher (1982a) found that urban living affected the composition of networks. He argued that the reduced involvement with kin was caused by the population concentration in city neighborhoods.

Spinette (1984) also noticed cultural influences on social networks. He attributed the differences in social network communication patterns of cancer patients to the ethnicity of the network members. He concluded that culture affects who patients talked to and what they talked about.

The social networks of Navy officers' wives operate in a unique culture. Professional requirements, paternalistic policies, and long family separations are demanding organizational characteristics. Civilian Navy wives do not choose to join the organization--they are given membership through marriage. The military is an organization that holds economic and decisive power over the private lives of these wives (Segal, 1990).

Military Literature

This section reviews the military literature most germane to the role of the Navy wife. It includes a discussion of the

military model, the demographics of the All Volunteer Force (AVF), retention issues, and wives' responsibilities.

Theoretical Foundations

In 1970 President Nixon's Gates Commission recommended ending the draft and providing for an All Volunteer Force (AVF). Technological advances and a changing demographic base had rendered the World War II conscription model ineffective (Janowitz, 1975a).

The military needed a force skilled in the use of sophisticated electronic weapons. It also needed a large occupational field force. However the number of white 18-year-old males was dropping in our population (King, 1977). In addition, the confidence level of the American public in the military was at an all time low (King, 1977). The type of personnel needed to run the high tech equipment were avoiding the draft.

The end of peacetime conscription was announced in January 1973. The Gates Commission proposed using skill training and monetary reward as incentives for military recruitment. This issue became the pivotal point that turned the military from traditional values to material values (Segal and Segal, 1983). The result was to bring into the Armed Forces young people who thought of the military as a job, not as a calling (Moskos, 1988). The military became the employer

of a rational employee interested in maximizing long-term earnings (Shields, 1988).

Technical advances in the Armed Forces supported occupational specialization. This effectively increased the number of military personnel in transportation, communications, electronics, supply and other technical and administrative jobs (Segal and Segal, 1983).

To accommodate the new military, major changes in personnel policies were made. The military hoped to improve its retention record and increase its recruiting base by aligning military policies with civilian employment structures (Moskos and Wood, 1988b). This strategy changed the military model from the institutional to the occupational.

The Institutional Model

The Mass Army of the fifties and early sixties closely followed an institutional format. Moskos (1988) describes institutional models as having values and norms which transcend individual self-interest. Prized values in the institutional model are duty, honor and commitment to country.

The reward system is paternalistic with much of the compensation in non-cash benefits based on rank and authority. Some of these benefits are in the form of exclusive military club memberships, cars and drivers for senior officers, and preferential housing for senior personnel.

The recruitment appeal in the institution model is to heroic characteristics and an adventurous lifestyle. Pride of service to country is a recurring theme. The appeal is toward the more masculine attributes of the culture.

The institutional model has limited roles for women. It wasn't until 1948 that female service personnel were allowed into the regular Armed Forces (Binkin and Bach, 1977), and there are still restrictions on their military careers. Spouses in the institutional model have a well defined social role (Pye and Shea, 1955), and are seen as part of the military community.

This model focuses on the work place as a site of work, residence and recreation. This encourages isolation from the civilian community. This isolation tends to strengthen military values and commitments (Moskos, 1988).

The Occupational Model

The occupational model is based on a marketplace economy with prestige assigned by the level of compensation. The impact of industrialization and modernization in the military emphasizes material gains (Lovell, 1964). Pay and bonuses take up more of the financial reward and there are fewer in-kind payments (Moskos, 1988).

Performance evaluations are quantitative, and compensation is based on skills and manpower availability. Workers have more of a say in their management in the

occupational model, implying self-interest. The reference groups in the occupational model are based on occupation, not organizational membership, thus creating a horizontal framework rather than the vertical structure of the institutional model.

Careers for female service personnel are more in line with those of their military male peers. Women are integrated into the regular Armed Forces structure competing with males. Because the occupational model allows a separation of work, recreation and residence sites, spouses are more focused on the civilian community.

The emphasis on technology weakens the organizational boundary between the military and the civilian occupational labor force (Janowitz, 1975b), and brings occupational values into the military environment. Personnel policies growing out of this environment are more tolerant of civilian behaviors and values.

By embracing civilian social values in the military structure, the organization set new standards of behavior for military wives (Segal, 1986). Wives' behaviors reflected the civilian society. The wives' military behaviors were adapted to suit the more informal behaviors of the seventies and eighties. The formalized teas, coffees and luncheons were replaced by informal get-togethers. In some cases the officers' wives' clubs that supported the traditional events disappeared (Jowers, 1989).

As the civilian community became more accepting of working mothers and wives, so did the military. The occupational model allows for more participation by females in the military itself. This mirrors the acceptance of women in the civilian work place.

Military Demographics Under the Occupational Model

The occupational model has changed the demographics of the military. In the early seventies about half of the recruits had high school degrees. In 1989, Eitelberg reported nine out of ten recruits were high school graduates. Among officers, almost 100% are college graduates, with graduate degrees a promotion consideration.

In 1960, recruits with the highest mental aptitude scores comprised 8.2% of the total. In 1979 this number dropped to 1.7%. Category II, the next "brightest", went from 24.1% in 1960 to 30.3% in 1975. The lowest category has fluctuated the most. When military manning demands are not met, minimums are lowered. In 1979, the year the "brightest" category recruitment was its lowest, the lowest category represented 38.7% of the recruits (Long, 1984).

Paternalistic and welfare type policies encourage marriages in the AVF. In 1953, 38% of all military personnel were married. In 1980 that number jumped to 61% (Segal, 1988). Marriage is encouraged in the military by the rewarding of benefits to spouses such as free medical care and

cheaper consumer products. Personnel with dependents are also paid more than others.

Divorces are fewer in the military than in the general population. All age groups except the 18-to 24-year-old group have lower divorce rates. For example, among the 30-to-34-year-old military men the divorce rate is 7%. In the civilian group of this age the divorce rate is 8.8% (Long, 1984).

Military men usually have their first unit command between the ages of 35 and 40. The 35-to-39-year-old military group has a divorce rate of 5.8%. Their civilian cohorts have a divorce rate of 8.8%. In the 40-44 age group the military divorce rate is 6.7% compared to the civilian divorce rate of 8.1%. The largest difference is in the 45-to-49-year-old group. The military divorce rate for this group is 3.7%. The civilian rate is 7.6% (Long, 1984).

While there are fewer divorces in the military community compared to their civilian cohorts, there are more second and third marriages (Long, 1984). Starting with the 25-29 age group, 12.7% of the military men are remarried. Only 10% of the civilian men in this age group have been married more than once.

For men 30-to-34 the remarriage rate is 19.2%. Civilian men of comparable age have a rate of 16.2%. Over 23% of military men in age group 35-to-39 have married more than once. For civilian men the percentage is slightly over 19%. Age group 40-to-44 has a military remarriage rate of 20.8%

while their civilian counterparts have a rate of 19.6%. Again, the biggest deficit is found in the 45-to-49 age group, where 23% of military men have remarried. Among civilians, 18.7% of men in that age group have married more than once (Long, 1984).

Blacks in the Military

The AVF has no minority quotas. The number and types of personnel accepted for service depend on manning requirements and the test scores of applicants. However, the acceptable level of score requirements does fluctuate, and this moveable benchmark serves as a control factor. As of 1987, 14.4% of the Army's officer corps were minorities. The Air Force followed with 9.9% minority officers. The Navy rate was 7.9%. In the enlisted ranks minorities make up 38.1% of the Army's personnel. Minorities in the Navy make up 25.5% of its enlisted complement (Defense '88).

The economy has been the biggest factor in black military recruitment. Civilian occupational barriers, less educational qualifications, and a civilian work environment that provides fewer opportunities have made the services appealing to young blacks. The military has provided an option to blacks when civilian jobs were scarce (Schexmider and Butler, 1976).

While poorer, less educated blacks flock to the service, college educated blacks do not. Since occupational fields are assigned by test scores, this has resulted in a concentration

of black recruits in the combat ground forces and in other low technical fields (Schexmider and Butler, 1976).

Women in the Military

Reflecting the social acceptance of women in non-traditional jobs, the number of women in the military has climbed steadily. In 1982 the AVF needed 120,000 more personnel than they were recruiting (Thomas, 1986). The acceptance of more women in the military provided a solution. (That same year over 52% of the female population was either employed or seeking work). For women, the military promised job security, high long term earnings and skill training (Shields, 1988).

While increased female recruitment helped fulfill staffing requirements, it also created structural problems. The combat exclusion law prohibited women on ships or planes with combat missions (Binkin and Bach, 1977). This exclusion law takes non-combat billets away from men. These jobs are used to rotate men out of sea and field duties--duties that are stressful for families (Snyder, 1978a; Archer, 1986; Nice, 1983).

Combat exclusion also limits the chances for women to qualify for the positions in the military that lead to the top ranks. In 1978 Congress modified the law permitting women to serve on hospital and transport ships and vessels not expected to be assigned combat missions. In 1991 the Defense Advisory

Committee on Women in the Service asked the Defense Secretary to remove the combat restrictions on women (Navy Times, May 6, 1991:3). The Army has no prohibition to women in combat, although with sufficient manpower they have historically restricted women from these occupations (Tuten, 1982).

The subject of women in combat was brought to the fore by the recent war in Iraq. The media feasted on pictures and stories of women leaving their husbands and children to go to war (PEOPLE magazine cover, September 10, 1990). The fears of the military became reality. Women faced combat, died and were taken prisoner (The Washington Post, March 25-31, 1991:35). Because of their performance in this confrontation, the American government became more accepting of women's war roles. On July 31, 1991 the Senate voted to allow women to fly combat missions (The Florida Times-Union, August 1, 1991:A-7).

Of equal or greater concern to the military is the problem of pregnancy. The military no longer has a policy of automatically discharging a women who is pregnant, but will allow women to leave voluntarily. In 1970, 10% of the women seeking voluntary discharge did so on grounds of pregnancy (Moskos, 1988). In 1977, 14.5% of the female officers and enlisted were pregnant (Tuten, 1982).

From a managerial point, pregnancy disrupts the personnel transfer flow cycle. Replacements on shore duty can usually be handled within the unit. Conversely, sea duty billets can

remain empty for months until a replacement is located and ordered in (Thomas, 1986).

Child care is an issue for both men and women. Four percent of the female military personnel are sole parents compared to just one percent of males. However, because there are so many men in the military, they actually outnumber the women as single parents. In the Navy two out of three single parents are men (Segal, 1988).

Time loss due to illness and child birthing, and the limited duty imposed by pregnancy can hinder unit cohesiveness and operational flow (Shields, 1988). In addition, motherhood creates retention problems. It is the major reason women drop out of the service (Shields, 1988). Yet, the military offers economic gains to single mothers that are not found in the civilian community.

The military is also faced with a growing number of dual service couples. The percentage is higher among women than men. In the Navy 46% of the women are married to men in the service, while 76% of Air Force women have military spouses. About 70% of dual married couples in both services are childless (Shields, 1988).

The military benefits in several ways from dual military couples. There is a greater assimilation into the military community. Additionally, the military saves on moving the household goods for these couples, accomplishing two transfers for the price of one. It is easier to manage the military

personnel assignments than it would be to coordinate with civilian employees. However, one member must be willing to accept what assignments are available, not what is career enhancing (Toulson and Diack, 1986).

Retention Issues

Retention of qualified personnel is a serious concern of the military. Training men and women in the skills needed for today's Navy is an expensive proposition. Gregory Stallworth of the Chief of Naval Education and Training Command supplied the following figures. The cost to train a jet pilot is \$873,000. It costs the Navy \$23,000 to put a recruit through 12 weeks of Officer Candidate School, and \$42,200 to train an enlisted electrician technician.

Highly skilled personnel weigh the advantages of staying in the service against what their civilian peers are earning. Civilian employees also have fewer personal constraints (Fredland and Little, 1983). In addition, the family separations, and frequent moves can lead to dissatisfaction.

In a study by Rosenbach and Gregory (1982) of military and civilian pilots, Air Force pilots cited inflexible assignments, lack of opportunity, quality of leadership, frequent moves and pressure to obtain educational degrees as reasons for dissatisfaction.

How the military members perceive chances for success also influences retention decisions. Marsh (1989) found how

high one will rise in pay grade is a major consideration for remaining in the service. Bigger and better material rewards in the civilian sector are a pulling factor for quality people to exit the service. With monetary rewards in the hands of the civilian Congress, military leaders have few incentives to offer.

Dissatisfaction of wives is also a major reason for exiting the service (Little, 1971). Orthner and Pittman (n.d.) found that when wives believed the Air Force supported them, they were more willing to support their husbands' careers. Military members who believed their spouses were adjusting well were more likely to stay in the service. However, it is unclear whether the men's attitude affects the women's satisfaction or the other way around.

Military planners believe that wives are a primary influence on the decision to reenlist. Faced with evidence of family impact on retention, the Armed Forces policy makers have concluded it is in their interest to improve the quality of family life (Hunter, 1982).

Family attitudes also impact on performance. Teitelbaum (1989) identified pro-family leadership attitudes as an important variable in motivation and performance. Ongoing research by the United States Army is finding that family well-being is a key element in a soldier's commitment to duty.

The Socialization of Wives

Before World War II, the military wife was considered to be the officer's wife (Little, 1971). Then, officers were mostly academy graduates. Their wives were chosen from the upper-class of East Coast society. These women were exposed to the protocol and socialization of academy life. In the AVF, academies are not the sole source of officers. Today, Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC), Officer Candidate School (OCS) and the Naval Aviation Cadet (NAVCAD) Corps offer other means for officer recruitment (Officer Programs and careers, 1988). In fiscal year 1987 the Navy obtained 14% of its officers from the Naval Academy at Annapolis, 25% from ROTC, 20% from Officer Candidate School, and the rest from other sources. (Defense '88).

Because officers' wives are now drawn from many levels and places in the culture, socialization in the role of "officer's wife" is difficult. Further, the split of work and home makes it hard to establish and institutionalize group norms (Zajonc, 1965; Festinger et al., 1950; Van Maanen, 1978). This split has contributed to the deterioration of the community spirit and the social solidarity in the military community (Segal and Sinaiko, 1986). The increase in off-base living has isolated the families of service personnel from the military community and redirected personal involvement toward the civilian community (Moskos, 1988a).

The Wife and the Organization

The occupational model made possible the integration of military families into the civilian community. More service personnel were allowed to live off base. Wage increases made civilian home ownership an option. The widened split between work and home environments resulted in several problems. Support systems for families became diffused and scattered. Value formation developed away from the military establishment. These factors helped increase dissatisfaction with military life and its organizational goal requirements (Moskos and Wood, 1988b).

In 1976 the Navy established two family programs to address family problems. They are the Family Service Centers and the Ombudsman program. Family Service Centers offer a number of services including stress management, community resource information, deployment workshops, and spouse employment advice.

The ombudsman program establishes a communication line between families and the commanding officer (Navy Family Ombudsman Manual, 1988). Although these programs offer resources to the families, they also succeed in strengthening family ties to the Navy (Segal, 1988).

Military family wants are similar to those of their civilian neighbors. Military personnel and their families desire better homes and college educations for their children.

These material rewards are driving more and more wives into the labor market.

Labor market participation for military wives has always been lower than for their civilian counterparts. Unemployment rates for military wives are 10.7% compared to 6% for wives in the civilian population (Hayghe, 1986). However, an Air Force survey in 1981 revealed that 66% of the enlisted wives and 45% of the officers wives were gainfully employed (Moskos and Wood, 1988a).

Frequent transfers keep military wives at a disadvantage in building a working career. Deployment separations frequently make military wives single parents, further complicating a working career. This has caused an increase in "geographic bachelors"--married men unaccompanied by their wives in the new duty station. Fifteen percent of the married enlisted personnel and five percent of officers were not accompanied by their wives in 1979 (Segal, 1988).

This phenomenon has contributed to a sense of isolation. Younger military wives who do not have senior wives to guide them become depressed and disillusioned with the military, especially during the husbands' deployments (Harrell and Rayhawk, 1989).

Officers' wives face the additional responsibility placed on them by the military system (Leaders' Wives Speak Out, n.d.). Civilian wives have roles as mothers, wives, and

employees. Senior officers' wives have the added job of the commanding officer's wife (Gibbons, 1984).

Responsibilities of Officers' Wives

The demands made on the wives of enlisted men are fewer and less stringent than the ones on officers' wives (Segal, 1990; Little, 1971). Demands on officers' wives are prescriptive in nature. They include obligations and benefits determined by the husband's organizational position (Gibbons, 1984, Brown, 1982).

There are certain jobs in which the responsibilities of wives are more critical. Navy wives of commanding or executive officers on sea duty have the most demanding organizational responsibilities (Little, 1971). Sea duty deployments separate personnel from their families for six months or more. The very time the senior officer's wife is experiencing extreme personal stress, she is expected to provide emotional support for the other wives (Londoner, n.d., Snyder, 1978b).

Gibbons (1974) comments that the organization expects the wife to take seriously her status as a partner in her husband's job. As the junior officer grows and learns in the Navy, his wife is expected to do the same. Brown (1982:5) notes the need of the junior wife for leadership and guidance from the senior wives. She writes, "They need to feel they are an invaluable part of the team effort."

The young wife who participates in the organization is perceived as supporting her husband, and being a "team player" (Leaders' Wives Speak Out, n.d.). Since the commander's perceptions are important for advancement, supportive wives can be an asset, and a competitive edge.

The image of a team is a strong one. Snyder, (1978b) uses it when identifying the role of the submarine officer's wife. Snevely (1986:105) describes a jet pilot's wife as a "player on a four-member team that consists of herself, her husband, the Navy, and the jet". This concept is particularly strong at the senior officer and command level. Jones, an Army wife (Leaders Wives Speak Out, n.d.) writes of the husband and wife "Command Team."

Wives' roles are referred to in various terms. Snyder (1978b) describes the officers' wives roles as mirroring that of their husbands. An Army wife describes the role as supportive of husbands and wives' clubs (Leaders' Wives Speak Out, n.d.) Crouch (Leaders' Wives Speak Out, n.d.) explains that Army wives are responsible for processing information up and down the chain of command. In addition, she believes they are also expected to help resolve problems of other wives in the command.

Zetterberg (Leaders' Wives Speak Out, n.d.) lists the duties of a new commander's wife before, during and after the change of command. This list contains protocol behaviors and interpersonal relations. Brown (1982), a Navy executive

officer's wife identified a real need for interpersonal communication skills. Gibbon's (1984:52) presented a list of skills a C.O.'s wife needs "in abundance." These include conflict resolution, problem-solving, and crisis intervention.

In a review of the literature, service-related differences become apparent. While the Army C.O. wife's role focuses on social behavior, the Navy roles are more managerial.

The perception of the command husband and wife team implies the wife has organizational responsibilities. While these responsibilities are officially unstated and unrecognized, they are understood by all concerned (Snyder, 1978a). In a booklet for commanding officers wives (Wifeline, 1989:5), wives are reminded that they have no "official" duties. They are also informed that they can make a valuable contribution to the command.

Anderson (Leader's Wives Speak Out, n.d.:5) makes an emphatic statement. She writes: "Wives aren't in the Army, wives don't have rank." Then, she proceeds to list the duties of a battalion commander's wife. It is this ambiguous rhetoric that creates the confusion, frustration, and misconceptions surrounding the role of officers' wives.

The American Middle-Class Woman

In the past two decades there have been some marked changes in the behaviors of middle-class women. Authors have

approached these role changes from a variety of theoretical perspectives.

Theoretical Foundations

McLaughlin et al. (1988) explain women's role changes in terms of exchange relationship theory. When women were able to increase the family income by as much as 40% (Thornton and Freedman, 1983), it became more cost effective for them to work outside the home. The authors also apply exchange theory to divorce. They explain the increase divorce rate as the effect of diminishing gains in marriage.

Chafe (1972) applies the push-pull theory to the increase of middle-class women in the work force. When children are grown mothers no longer have a full time job. They then are drawn into the labor force by their need to use their education and occupation skills.

While this theory explains the increase of middle-class women with grown children in the work force, it does not explain the increase of working females who have school-age children. In 1960 the proportion of working women with children age six to seventeen was 39%. In 1982 it had increased to 63.2% (Michel, 1984), and in 1988 it had risen to 65.2% (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). Part of this might be attributed to the increase in divorced mothers and single parents.

McLaughlin et al. (1988) offer the theory of supply and demand to explain the increase in female labor market participation. The demand factors are the labor market variables that dictate the number of workers needed to fill available jobs. The supply factors control the characteristics that encourage or discourage labor participation. Margolis' work (1984) on the history of women's participation in the American labor force supports this theory. When demand dictates a larger labor force more women are taken into the labor market. When demand decreases, women are expelled. Today, equal opportunity laws hinder the operation of supply and demand forces.

The switch from an industry-based to a service-based economy was a major factor in the increase in middle-class female employment (Mallier and Rosser, 1987). The growth of the service sector increased the number of jobs traditionally thought of as "women's work", thus increasing the chances of female employment.

Beechey and Perkins (1987) agree that changes in the gender composition of the work force is linked to fundamental structural changes in the economy. Conditions that provide more opportunities for women drive them into the labor force and away from their traditional home roles. As more women enter the labor force, values shift towards acceptance of their behaviors (Thornton and Freedman, 1983). As acceptance increases, the society institutionalizes aid for working

women. The increase in fast foods, housecleaning services, and child care service are testimony to this process (Margolis, 1984).

Thornton and Freedman (1983) use technological change to explain the fertility rate drop. Industrialization decreased the demand for home farm labor, decreasing the need for large families. Declining rates of child mortality due to medical advances lessen the necessity for multiple pregnancies. From a birth rate of 3.6 children per woman in 1957, the rate for white women dropped to 1.7 in 1982. Statistical Abstract of the United States (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990) projects the overall fertility rate for the next 20 years to be 1.8. This is far from the replacement requirement of 2.11.

Contraceptive technology has also influenced fertility rates and pushed back the age of child bearing. In 1982 63% of women aged 20-to-24 and 37% of women 25-to-29 were childless (Thornton and Freedman, 1983).

The most profound change in married middle-class female behaviors is their increased participation in the labor force. In 1976, 45.1% of the married women with husbands present were employed. In 1988, the figure was 56.5% (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990).

Historically, female work roles have been used to define social roles (Holmstrom, 1984). During the sixties social values changed as acceptance for women in the work place increased. Some observers credit these changes to the

feminist movement. Social consciousness alone would not have been raised to the level of revolutionary action if the transformations in the economy were not supportive (Bergman, 1986). Legislation also helped increase the number of females in the labor market. The Cambridge Labour Studies found that both social values and political process affect women's working behaviors (Beechey and Perkins, 1987).

The significance of working behavior can be seen in middle-class demographics (Rexroat and Shehan, 1984). It has also influenced women's pre-marital educational behaviors. Women are marrying later and spending more pre-marital time in acquiring an education, skill training and work experience. In 1970, the median age of first marriage was 20.8. By 1980 it was 22.1 (Ritzen, 1986).

In 1972 women accounted for 41.2% of all college students; by 1981 women were 48.4% of the college population. In 1986, 54% of the college students were female (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). There has also been a shift in what women are studying. In 1966, women earned 4.5% of the professional degrees. In 1980, the number was up to 24.8% (Ritzen, 1986).

Education and skill training are predictors of the probability of women entering the labor market after marriage (Nakamura and Nakamura, 1985). Additionally, college educated women are twice as likely to work outside the home as those with less education (Bianchi and Spain, 1986). The time they

invest in job experience, education and training enhances their job opportunities and earning possibilities (French and Nock, 1981). Therefore, the increased enrollment of women in college courses is likely to result in more women in the labor force.

The Effects of Working Wives on Marriages

Working wives face increased marital stress. Kingston and Nock (1987) found that successful marriages are built on good communications. When both husband and wife are wage earners the authors believe there is less time to establish important communication skills. However, the opposite might also be true. When dual earners have less time together they might make the effort to maximize their communication skills.

There are other factors that produce marital stress. Income inequality can cause marital disharmony. D'Amico's (1983) findings suggest wives who earn higher wages than their husbands are more apt to have unstable marriages. Divorce is most frequent among professional women. The marriages of professional men with incomes higher than their wives apparently do not suffer the same instability (Michel, 1984).

In dual career couples, the competition generated by the wife's professional achievements leads to a greater probability of marital dissolution. This forces some wives to choose occupations that are below their skill and experience level (Ritzen, 1986; Roos 1985).

Booth et al. (1984) found that marital instability increases with a wife's employment, especially if the wife is working more than 40 hours a week. They posit that a wife's income may provide her with the economic independence to exit from an unpleasant marriage. If so, wage becomes an important factor in wives' employment.

Regan and Roland (1985) describe career women as doubly disadvantaged. They compete with men at work who have low family involvement while trying to deal with demands at home.

While there are disadvantages in being away from home responsibilities for part of the day, there are benefits. Sorenson and McLanahan (1987) report working wives have better physical and mental health. They are also more independent of family.

The Working Military Wife

Mazzaroppi's (1984) research on the working behaviors of military wives revealed that service wives are not far behind the civilian population in labor force activity. At the time of the study the percentage of working wives in the general population was 53%. In her sample population 50% of the military wives were employed. Hayghe (1986) however, noted a larger difference with military wives' labor participation -- almost 15% lower than their civilian counterparts.

In a study of Army wives Schwartz et al. (1991) found that officer's wives are more likely to be employed than wives

of enlisted personnel. The authors noted that several variables were positively related to employment status. These were the educational level of the wife, and the number of months at the present location. Since the study population was Army wives, the authors cautioned against application of the findings to the Navy, the major variable of concern with the Navy being its long deployment requirements.

The Schwartz et al. study (1991) drives home a point. Working behaviors of wives are influenced by the military structure. While the military occupational model supports many civilian values, the behaviors allowed by these civilian values create conflict areas for the wives (Segal, 1988). One of these conflict areas is around working military wives. Wives are often forced to choose between a professional career and the demands of their husband's occupation, which include frequent moves and family separations.

Wives' Unpaid Labor Contributions

Finch (1983) describes another type of labor contribution that is peculiar to wives--the wife's unpaid work that aids a husband's career. She categorizes this labor as moral support, peripheral activities, back-up activity, proxy, and doing work with the husband. Her categories are not definitive and have a tendency to sound redundant. But one thing is clear: women do perform tasks that aid their

husband's work. She uses examples from her study of clergy couples to make her points.

Religion is not the only occupation that allows for the incorporation of wives into the husband's occupational life. Fowlkes' (1980) comparative study on doctors' and professors' wives found evidence of unpaid employment. Both Fowlkes and Finch counted such activities as maintaining a stress free home environment, and acting as a sounding board as unpaid labor.

Jans (1989) takes another view. Using data from Australian military wives he concluded that the military wives' participation in their husbands' careers is a vicarious seeking for identity. It is influenced by the wife's perception of her quality of life and herself. Hall (1971) supports the importance of self-perceptions in directing careers.

Finch (1983) described conditions that encourage the incorporation of wives into their husbands' work. These include occupations with high mobility, flexible hours, considerable time away from home, institutional settings and high social values with moral overtones. If Finch is right, then incorporation behaviors will be found in Navy officers' wives.

The following chapters present the study of the social networks of naval officers' wives, and the behaviors of these wives. Chapter 2 explains the research design, methods, and

the setting of the study. Chapter 3 is an overview of the Navy organization. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 focus on what wives say they do, and what they report doing in their social networks. From these chapters a picture emerges of the interrelations between the officer's wife and the Navy. Conclusions are reported in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 2 THE STUDY

The informants for this study are the wives of naval officers in Jacksonville, Florida and nearby St. Mary's, Georgia. Within this area are four Navy bases. Two of the bases, Naval Air Station Jacksonville and Naval Air Station Cecil Field, are aviation bases. Another base, Naval Station Mayport, is both an air station and a home port for ships. The fourth base in this study is Navy Submarine Base Kings Bay, Georgia. This base was in the final stages of construction during the study and became fully operational after the data had been collected.

This chapter describes the methods used to acquire and analyze the data. The first section is an explanation and discussion of: 1) the method of obtaining informants, 2) the research design, 3) the methods used to collect the data, and 4) how the data was analyzed.

The second section includes a description of the civilian communities and the Navy bases. The chapter ends with demographic comparisons of the informants with the overall Navy population and with the civilian population.

Method

Generating the Sample Population

Informants for the study were obtained through Navy officers' wives' clubs. The wife of the leading admiral in the area arranged introductions to base wives' clubs. Presentations to the executive boards of the main officers' wives' club on each base produced most of the informants. Membership on these boards is predominately commanding officers' wives. This accounts for the disproportionate number of senior officers' wives in the study.

Board members took information about the study back to their respective unit clubs to help in the recruitment of volunteer informants. Some of the unit clubs invited me to make presentations to their groups. In addition to the wives' clubs presentations, articles were placed in three base papers asking for participants. The sources produced a sample population of 135 wives. Rank of the volunteers' husbands ranged from ensign to rear admiral. Husbands held positions on staffs and in operational commands on both sea duty and shore duty.

Random sampling was not an option in this study. The method used to obtain informants was snowball sampling, with senior officers' wives contacting other officers' wives in their command units.

During Operation Desert Shield (the prelude to the war in Iraq) I collected data from five additional commanding officers' wives; four were helicopter squadron C.O.'s wives and one was the wife of a ship C.O. Four of the husbands were already in the Persian Gulf and one was preparing to leave. One of the wives had participated in the master study as an executive officer's wife and was now a C.O.'s wife.

This addendum study was conducted nine months after the other data had been collected. To obtain these informants I contacted former study participants who were still in the area and asked them for names of C.O.'s wives whose husbands were in the Persian Gulf.

The Research Design

The 135 naval officers' wives who participated in the original study were divided into two reporting groups. One group (N=92) reported one day of network data. The remaining wives reported 15 days of network data. Days were randomly selected and assigned to the informants.

Five additional wives were added just prior to Operation Desert Storm, (the actual war in Iraq). This brought the total number to 140 wives. These wives reported their network activity for five randomly assigned days during January and February 1991. As it turned out this was just before Desert Storm and also covered the war and some weeks after the war.

The Navy's mobility took a toll on the research. Eight of the 43 fifteen-day reporters moved out of the area during the study, thus, not all the wives completed their 15-day schedule. Ten recorded for less than fifteen days, but none recorded for less than ten days. Since the unit of analysis is one day of social network interactions, this missing data did not adversely affect the study. Each day reported became a line of data.

A 2 x 2 research design placed all informants into one of four groups. Their placement depended on their husband's type of duty and where they resided. The groups were: sea duty living on base, sea duty living off base, shore duty living on base, and shore duty living off base.

The original research design called for an equal number of informants in each block. Difficulty in filling the on-base residence variable resulted in more informants living off base. However, there are enough on-base informants to test if residence affects social network composition and interactions.

Table 2.1 The Research Design

Recording	On Base		Off Base		
	1 Day	1 Day+	1 Day	1 Day+	
Sea Duty	19	9	38	11	N=77
Shore Duty	2	12	33	11	N=58
Desert Storm				5	N=5
Totals:	21	21	71	27	N=140

Methods of Data Collecting

In the research reported here informants were not limited to categorical data. What resulted was data that produced a holistic view of the daily networks of naval officers' wives.

All participants were asked to record who they "talked to" and what they talked about on an assigned day. "Talked to" included letters received or sent. Informants were told to identify purely business interactions as "business" in order not to divulge the content.

Each informant was reminded with a phone call prior to her recording day. Shortly after the recording date, each informants' data were collected by phone. Shelley et al. (1990) used this method to study information flow in social networks. While it is time consuming it does allow the data collector to clarify data and solicit information beyond the prescribed boundaries.

The 43 informants assigned more than one day received a year's supply of monthly DAYTIMERS pocket calendar diaries. They were instructed to record their data on the appropriate date. A weakness of diary-recorded data is the tendency to underestimate frequency (Higgins et Al, 1985). However, these informants also reported their data over the phone, where memory prods and critical questions were used to improve recall. A comparison between diaries and phone reported data showed little difference in number of contacts.

A supply of self-addressed, stamped envelopes enabled the informants to send their diary data to me. Pages were checked for informant accuracy. Names appearing on both lists, as well as names appearing on only one list were compiled into a master list for each individual.

In the final months of the research informants received their master list along with instructions for describing each name on the list. Informants labeled each name as a friend, acquaintance, kin, business associate, squadron mate, or neighbor (more than one label was allowed). Informants were also asked to add the names of people they considered in their network who were not on their list. Thirty nine of the informants returned their list. These data are displayed in Chapter VI under composition of social networks.

A semi-structured personal interview was conducted with the 43 multiple day informants. (Appendix B). These interviews were tape recorded and supplied the qualitative material found in Chapters 4 and 5. Demographic questionnaires were filled out on all informants. The results of these questionnaires produced the data for the demographic comparisons found at the end of this chapter.

Recruiting information came from an afternoon spent at the Navy Regional Recruiting Office Jacksonville with J01 (journalist first class) McGillray. A trip to Washington D.C. for a meeting with members of the Naval Manpower and Personnel Command did not produce any new information. This is the

department responsible for Family Service Centers and the Ombudsman program. Several meetings with Family Service Center Personnel at Mayport also produced little. Correspondence with the Department of the Navy, Naval Military Personnel Command (BURPERS), provided the current facts on organizational manpower, hardware, and personnel policies.

Attendance at the ombudsman basic and advanced courses, and a C.O./X.O. wives forum at Naval Station Mayport gave me a better appreciation of the wives' problems. An interview with Mary White, the volunteer chairperson of the Mayport Ombudsman Program, helped clarify the ombudsman program.

Other information was gathered from WIFELINE, a non-profit organization dedicated to supplying information to Navy wives, and from the National Military Family Association. The latter organization is a Washington-based lobby group for the families of military personnel. Interviews were also conducted with an active duty Navy captain and an admiral. They supplied data on the Navy and their views on the roles of Navy wives. A Navy officer in charge of recreation programs on one of the bases discussed future trends in Navy recreational benefits.

The remaining interviews were with Navy wives. Two were with junior officers' wives and the third interview was with a female naval officer married to another naval officer. This focused on the subject of dual Navy personnel couples.

I brought into the study the experience of thirty years as a Navy officer's wife. The knowledge of the system helped me immeasurably during the research. Many of the wives remarked that they volunteered as informants only because they felt I would be a sympathetic ally. Interview procedures went smoothly. Data collection was facilitated because I understood the language and the dynamics of the organization.

Analytical Methods

Although this is meant to be an ethnography of Navy officers' wives, the data were also analyzed quantitatively. Diaries and phone conversations produced 712 lines of one day social network interactions. Each line represented a daily social network of one person. Each data line was examined for 27 variables. Variables were demographic, affective and instrumental in nature (Appendix C). Network interaction data were divided into four categories: emotional support, economic aid, information brokering, and work for the organization.

Several types of statistical tests were run on the data base. First the whole set of 712 lines was tested using procedures for estimating and testing a hypothesis with a large sample. Then, the data base was reduced to 135 lines by randomly selecting one line from each of the 43 multiple recorders and adding that to the 92 lines from the one day recorders. The results of the statistical analysis are presented in Chapter 6.

Content analysis and qualitative procedures were used to compile and analyze the ethnographic data that makes up Chapter 4 and 5. Bernard's Research Methods in Cultural Anthropology (1988), supplied most of the guidance for this study. Two other references were helpful in keeping the study on track. They were: Strategies and Tactics of Human Behavioral Research (Johnston and Pennypacker, 1980), and Anthropological Research (Pelto and Pelto, 1978).

The Study Settings

The four naval bases covered in this study are located within a 40 mile radius from downtown Jacksonville, Florida (Figure 2.1). Kings Bay Submarine Base is located in Georgia at the extreme northern end of the study area. Naval Station Mayport is situated fourteen miles east of the city center at the point where the St. Johns River meets the Atlantic Ocean. Naval Air Station Jacksonville is ten miles south of the city, and Naval Air Station Cecil Field is about 20 miles west of downtown.

The Civilian Community of Jacksonville

In 1968 the small towns in Duval County were consolidated into the city of Jacksonville¹. With 800 square miles,

¹ Unless otherwise noted information on the city of Jacksonville and its surrounding areas was provided by the Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce.

Jacksonville covers more area than any other U.S. city (Times Union, Sept. 12, 1990:A-1).

The population is now catching up with the size of the area. The 1990 census ranks Jacksonville as the 15th largest city in the country. Its population of 659,420 represents a growth of 21.9 percent since 1980, when Jacksonville was rated twenty second. It is the third highest growth area in the United States (Florida Times Union, Sept. 12, 1990:A-1).

Jacksonville is located in the northeast of Florida near the Georgia border. It is bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, and cut by the north flowing St. Johns River, and the north-south Intercoastal Waterway.

The proximity to water has influenced Jacksonville history and development. Ancient Indian tribes, as well as the French, Spanish and English have lived in this coastal region (Ward, 1985). It was the availability of protected deep water that first brought the U.S. Navy here.

The economic base of Jacksonville is built on light industry and a strong service sector. Among the products manufactured here are King Edward cigars, Kraft paper, SMC chemicals, and Maxwell House coffee. Its insurance and banking industries date back to the turn of the century when Afro-American Life and Peninsular Life set up headquarters (Ward, 1985). Other firms headquartered here are: Prudential Life, Voyager Life, Gulf Life, Blue Cross/Blue Shield, Independent Life, AT&T and American Express.

The largest employer of civilian personnel in Jacksonville is the United States Navy. The next highest ranked employer is the Duval County School Board (Jacksonville Business Journal, Oct. 2, 1989:50).

The area is a sporting paradise with over two dozen golf courses, most of them private, and many boating, tennis and fishing facilities. Headquarters for the touring professional golfers and the American touring professional tennis players are located in Ponte Vedra Beach, southeast of the city.

There are five colleges and universities in Jacksonville. Also to be found in the Jacksonville area are several museums, drama production groups, and a variety of professional musical organizations.

Like any city area, Jacksonville offers many types of living accommodations from trailer parks to million dollar waterfront estates. The largest concentration of Naval personnel can be found in Orange Park, south of Jacksonville. Other high density Navy areas are Mandarin, south of the city, and "the beaches." The Beaches are a series of small towns that line the Atlantic Ocean starting where the St. Johns River joins the Atlantic, and ending just south of the St. John's County line. These towns are: Mayport, Neptune Beach, Atlantic Beach, Jacksonville Beach, and Ponte Vedra Beach.

The Navy in Jacksonville

The Navy first became interested in Jacksonville in 1938 when the Roosevelt government was seeking a site for an amphibious aircraft training base (Ward, 1985). In 1939 the area's citizens donated land to the Navy, and NAS Jacksonville was opened September 4, 1940. The outlying auxiliary airfield, Cecil Field, was expanded in 1941 to become a base, and Mayport Naval Station was opened in 1942. Kings Bay submarine base is the newest naval facility in the area; it became fully operational in 1991.

Active duty and retiree families have a considerable economic impact on an area. One of every five jobs in the Jacksonville area is attributed to the Navy presence. The total economic impact is over \$2.8 billion a year (Florida Times Union, July 23, 1990:A-9). In 1990 the U.S. House of Representatives voted over \$118 million in military construction for the Jacksonville and Kings Bay, Georgia area. Special impact assistance for several projects, including new schools, totaled \$10.8 million (The Florida Times Union, August 1, 1990:A-1). While the increase of military personnel make new schools necessary, they will also serve the civilian population.

Naval Station Mayport

Located at the mouth of the St. Johns River Naval Station Mayport (NS Mayport)² is both an air station and a ship port. Helicopter operations add to the cacophony of sounds coming from the ship basin. Sailors are employed in a variety of chores from chipping paint, to testing equipment. Ships of all sizes from city-block-size aircraft carriers, to small motor launches are docked here. Frequently, foreign naval ships are tied up at the piers. Signal flags outlining ships' superstructures add a riot of color to the grey hulls. Adding to the hues are the khaki, blue and white of navy uniforms.

Naval Station Mayport is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean, Hanna State Park, the river, the fishing village of Mayport and the beach towns. Naval Station Mayport is the Navy's third largest naval base. It ranks behind Norfolk, Virginia and San Diego, California. Its facilities cover 3,409 acres and include a deep water port and an airfield with an extended jet runway that connects with the carrier piers (Department of the Navy Shareholders Report, 1989).

Thirty-four ships are homeported here, including two aircraft carriers, four guided missile cruisers, several destroyers and frigates, a destroyer tender and three minesweepers. Since 1982, Mayport ships have operated off the

² Unless otherwise noted information was supplied by the Public Affairs Office and the Family Service Center at Naval Station Mayport.

coast of Beirut, Grenada, Africa and Europe. Half of the ships are deployed at any given time. In 1991 ships and aircraft from NS Mayport were deployed to the Persian Gulf for Desert Storm.

There are over 18,000 military men and women stationed at NS Mayport in shore and sea duty billets. The carriers, USS Forrestal and the USS Saratoga, each have a crew of over 3,000 men. Base facilities employ 1,519 civilians and 1,140 contract employees.

This complex is also the home base for six anti-submarine helicopter squadrons and their support groups. These squadrons have more than 65 helicopters deployed in one or two plane detachments aboard frigates and destroyers (Department of the Navy Shareholders Report, 1989).

Naval Station Mayport has an annual economic impact in the Jacksonville area of over 1.3 billion dollars (Department of the Navy Shareholders Report, 1989). Active duty military and civilian pay totals more than \$450 million a year.

Base facilities for active duty personnel and their dependents include: a commissary and exchange (department store), thrift shop and child care center. There is also a medical dispensary, a chapel, and a Family Service Center. Recreational facilities include a pool, bowling center, golf course, gym, marina, and tennis courts. The base has a credit union, a bank, a youth club, and a McDonald's. There is a motel for temporary housing of military personnel in transit.

NS Mayport has 1281 government quarters (Guide to Military Installations in the U.S., 1990). One hundred and fifty three are designated officer's quarters. These are divided into junior officers' and senior officers' housing areas. Officers' housing is separated from the enlisted quarters and are of single and multiple home design. Senior officers live in beach front single homes near the historic lighthouse. Other officers' and enlisted families live in multiple units within walking distance of the beach. Two admirals and the commanding officer of Mayport have assigned base quarters.

Most of the quarters are over 20 years old. Senior officers' quarters in particular are outdated and outmoded. Their setting however can not be faulted. They are on the beach facing the Atlantic Ocean. These quarters are an ideal spot to watch ships as they enter and exit the St. Johns on their way into the naval base or city port. As one wife put it "I'm living in a \$20,000 house on a million dollars worth of real estate."

Fifty of the study sample wives had husbands stationed at NS Mayport. Twenty-six of the husbands were on sea duty in the aviation community, 19 had husbands on sea duty aboard ships. Five husbands were in shore base commands. Sixteen of the NS Mayport informants lived in base housing. The rest owned or rented homes in the Beaches communities.

Naval Submarine Base Kings Bay

The newest Navy base in the area was established to service the Navy's Trident nuclear submarines. Kings Bay³ has been under construction since 1979 (The Florida Times-Union, January 10 1990:A-11).

Naval Submarine Base (NSB) Kings Bay is located in the southeastern corner of Georgia near the Florida border. The base is situated between the small towns of St. Mary's and Kingsland. The two closest cities are Jacksonville, Florida and Brunswick, Georgia. Each is about 40 miles from the base. The major waterways are the Cumberland Sound and Kings Bay.

NSB Kings Bay encompasses 16,000 acres (King's Bay Naval Submarine Base, 1989). As of June 1989, 3,370 military personnel were stationed at the sub base. This number will increase as the base increases its operational activities.

Most striking about this base is the minimum number of naval artifacts to be seen. Scattered over the land are civilian construction crews. The only military objects are the torpedoe casings in front of the club. All the support activity buildings are located near the entrance gates. The commissary, social clubs, exchange, and Bachelor Enlisted Quarters (BEQ) are all in one compound. The base has 415 family housing units, including 18 for officers. All of the

³ Unless otherwise noted information on Naval Submarine Base Kings Bay was provided by the Public Affairs Office and Family Service Center on the base.

13 Kings Bay participants in this study lived in nearby civilian communities.

The submarine work areas are located in a restricted area away from the other base facilities. This makes it easy to spend a day at Kings Bay and not see any operational activity.

The mission of the base is to provide support to the Fleet Ballistic Missile System, and to maintain support for the submarine force. Commander Submarine Group 10, and two support submarine squadrons, are based at NSB Kings Bay. Some of the other commands here are the Trident Refit Facility and the Trident Training Facility. The Trident Refit Facility employs military personnel and civilian workers. By 1994 it is projected Kings Bay will have a work force of 1,900 (Kings Bay Naval Submarine Base, 1989). Operational submarines are just arriving at Kings Bay. For now, Kings Bay has mostly shore duty billets.

When fully operational Kings Bay will be the home port for a squadron of Trident class submarines. Each Trident will have two crews of 150 officers and men. While one crew is deployed on patrol, the other crew will undergo training at the training facility.

Facilities on the base for naval personnel and families include a retail store, a library, social clubs and a Family Service Center. Other facilities are a bowling alley, child care center, swimming pool, and automotive hobby shop. Medical and dental clinics provide health care to active duty

military personnel and their dependents (Guide to Military Installations in the U.S., 1990).

Kings Bay is surrounded by pine land, marshes, and farm land. Until the Navy arrived, fishing was the predominate industry. Shopping is limited to a few highway strip malls. Most naval personnel drive to Jacksonville for their major shopping needs.

Housing in the Kings Bay area is a problem for military personnel, according to The Florida Times-Union (June 4, 1989:B-8). With limited on-base housing, families are forced to seek accommodations in the civilian community. The Times-Union also reports that, in a study conducted by the governmental impact office, 75% said there wasn't enough housing.

There has been considerable home construction in the Kings Bay civilian community, but prices are too high for the lower level enlisted personnel. Homes in the area average \$82,759 (ibid). The choice of living accommodations includes newly constructed apartment complexes, executive type homes and older homes, some needing restoration.

Naval Air Station Cecil Field

The entrance to Navy Air Station Cecil Field⁴ leaves no doubt of the base mission. Stationed on either side of the

⁴ Unless otherwise noted information on Naval Air Station Cecil Field was provided by the base Public Affairs Office.

front gate are two Navy combat jets. Overhead the fighters and attack aircraft scream their approaches and departures, producing an environment of excitement and daring. It is common to see a squadron of jets overhead executing a carrier-break approach to landing. In this maneuver, as the jets approach the base the planes peel off one at a time, make a 360 degree turn, and land in a single-file. The maneuver is critical practice for pilots who will make many carrier deck landings during their careers. The squadrons based at NAS Cecil Field are the attack, fighter and antisubmarine units that deploy on aircraft carriers.

NAS Cecil Field is located about 20 minutes west of downtown Jacksonville in a sparsely populated, pine area. In this rural area of Jacksonville, pick-up trucks are the popular mode of transportation. Local stores feature hunting supplies and western gear. There is some farm land, but mostly moderately priced neighborhood developments, and trailer parks.

Originally NAS Cecil Field was 2,600 acres of forest and farm land. Advances in jet aircraft design required longer runways making base expansion necessary. NAS Cecil Field now has almost 30,000 acres in its domain. This includes 2,500 acres at Outlying Field (OLF) Whitehouse and another leased 8,379 acres in the Ocala National Forest. This ancillary acreage makes Cecil Field the largest military landholder in the Jacksonville area.

NAS Cecil Field has a work force of 10,572. Over 9,000 are military personnel. Its economic impact on the area is figured at \$567.21 million. Cecil Field's payroll is over \$270 million a year.

The base has seven major commands. Squadrons from NAS Cecil Field deploy on aircraft carriers home ported at Norfolk, Virginia, and at Mayport. Their missions are varied. Sea Strike Wing One (CVSW-1) maintains the material and operational readiness of the VS squadrons. These are the Atlantic Fleet fixed-wing, carrier based, Antisubmarine Warfare squadrons. Under CVSW-1 are six deploying squadrons and a training squadron. Together they comprise 76 aircraft. Duty with the deploying squadrons is sea duty. The training squadron is shore duty.

Also at Cecil Field is Light Attack Wing One (CLAW-1). Under this command there are ten strike fighter squadrons (VFA) and four attack squadrons (VA). The VFA squadrons have a total of 165 jet aircraft. The VA squadrons total 44 jets. All these squadrons go to sea. They deploy for about six months aboard air craft carriers and operate in the Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea.

The base has 50 sets of officers' quarters and 255 enlisted units. Fifteen of the study participants were from NAS Cecil Field. Three lived in base housing.

Most of the land mass of Cecil Field is used for operations. However, it does have a commissary, a golf

course, three swimming pools and a bowling alley. There is a child care center located on the base (Guide to Military Installations in the U.S., 1990).

Many of the officers based at NAS Cecil Field live in Orange Park, just over the Duval County line. Orange Park has been a favorite living community for Navy personnel since the Navy first came to the area.

Naval Air Station Jacksonville

The area's oldest base⁵ is located on the banks of the St. Johns River, ten miles south of downtown Jacksonville. It is the site of the naval hospital and major supply and support centers. Located on this base is the senior naval officer in the area.

At the east end of the Naval Air Station is the Naval Aviation Depot (NADEP). With nearly 3,000 people it is Jacksonville's single largest civilian employer. There are six NADEPS in the country. This one has been in operation since 1940 (Fifty Years of Serving the Fleet, 1990).

NAS Jacksonville celebrated its 50th anniversary in October 1990. The land it occupies was purchased by the citizens of Jacksonville and donated to the United States Navy for an aviation training base. Cecil Field and Naval Station

⁵ Unless otherwise noted information on Naval Air Station Jacksonville was obtained from the Family Service Center and the Public Affairs Office on the base.

Banana River, (now Patrick Air Force Base) got their start as auxiliary fields for NAS Jacksonville.

Today, its sea duty mission is in anti-submarine warfare. It is the home base for Anti-Submarine Helicopter (HS) and multi-engine patrol squadrons (VP). These squadrons deploy for six to nine months. The HS squadrons go aboard aircraft carriers to provide protection and support for the battle group. Over 50 helicopters are based at NAS Jacksonville. The 54 patrol aircraft of the VP squadrons deploy to, and operate from, American bases in Sicily, Spain, Iceland, and Bermuda.

Recreational facilities on the base include indoor and outdoor swimming pools, a golf course, tennis courts, a bowling alley and a marina. The base has a credit union, child care center, post office, library, and chapel. There is a motel for military personnel in transit. The Navy Exchange and commissary, a sprawling complex near the main gate built in 1989, sells clothing, household items, gift items, furniture, garden supplies, electronic equipment, food and drink.

The base is the scene of hectic activity. Helicopters and multi-engine aircraft take off and return over the St. Johns River day and night. The social clubs and stores are crowded with dependents, retirees, and activity duty personnel. During lunch hour, traffic proceeds cautiously around the many joggers along the road.

NAS Jacksonville has 84 sets of officer's quarters. The quarters are divided into junior officers and senior officers areas. Officers' quarters include a row of two-story homes that border the river. They are the residences of admirals and captains. Thirteen officers' wives in the study lived in quarters at NAS Jacksonville. Forty six informants had husbands attached to this base.

Not all the wives who participated in the study had husbands currently based in the Jacksonville area. Some were wives who had stayed in the Jacksonville area while their husbands went on to other duty stations. Other wives volunteered for the study, then left with their husbands. In all, 11 husbands were based out of the area. Among the places they were stationed were Washington D.C.; Norfolk, Virginia; Newport, Rhode Island; Japan, England, and Patuxent River, Maryland.

Demographic Comparisons

Sample Husbands Compared to Other Navy Officers

Sample husbands of the informants are older and hold higher ranks than officers in general. Just over 50% are over 36, while in the fleet only 37.3% of the officers are over this age. Almost half of the sample husbands were commanders and above, while the total fleet percentage for admirals, captains and commanders is 1.6% (Table 2.2). The method of soliciting volunteers reached far more senior officers' wives

than the wives of junior officers. The seniority of the husbands' of the volunteer wives has much to do with the age and rank differences.

Thirty eight percent of the informants were either commanding officers' wives or executive officers' wives. These wives were especially articulate and knowledgeable about family life in the Navy.

Educational differences between sample husbands and fleet officers are explained by the seniority of service. Over 98% of the sample husbands held bachelors or advanced college degrees. The fleet percentage is 89.5%. The Navy has a continuing education program. The longer the naval career progress, the more educational opportunities are available. Since an advanced degree is considered important for promotion, officers are motivated to increase their education.

Sample Wives and Other Wives

Unless otherwise noted, the demographic information on officers' wives is from the 1985 Department of Defense (DOD) survey. It is unusual for the military to survey dependents. The scope of this survey alone makes a repeat improbable in the foreseeable future. The results of this survey are not broken down by service. The figures represent the statistics for military wives of all services. Where Navy statistics are available they are noted. Although each service has its own

distinctive characteristics, military officers' wives have much in common, so generalizations are plausible.

Sample informants have a higher education than military officers' wives in general (Table 2.3). Over 96% of the sample wives have some college or better compared with 80% of all military officers' wives and 74.4% of civilian wives. Almost 99% of the sample wives were in their first marriages compared to 86% in the DOD study.

The minority representation in the sample closely approximates the minority officers' wives percentage reported in the DOD survey. Minorities in the sample were three black women, one hispanic woman, and one native American.

Slightly over 48% of the study wives are employed compared to 42.9% of the officers' wives in the DOD study, and 56.5% of civilian wives.

Only one wife in the sample population was active duty Navy; two other wives were in the U.S. Navy Reserve (for a total of 2.3%). Statistics on the number of reserve women married to military men were unavailable. However, approximately 31% of all active duty female officers are married to military men.

The Department of Defense (DOD) survey did not break down ages other than to establish a baseline of age 30. Seventy five percent of both the DOD military wives and my sample wives were over 30.

The variable "volunteer work" is poorly defined in the DOD data. It is unclear if it means volunteering in the civilian community, military community, or both. In the DOD study, 44.8% of employed, and 45% of the unemployed military officers' wives volunteered their time (Table 2.3). If wives' club participation is not considered, only 29% of the employed sample wives and 31.3% of the unemployed sample wives do volunteer work. When wives' club participation is included over 88% of these wives participate in volunteer activities.

The seniority of the sample is a reasonable explanation for most differences. It is also a reason why sample wives have moved more often than other military wives (Table 2.4). In the DOD study, 3% had no moves, 15% had 10 or more moves. In the study group, 1.5% have never had a move, and 28.4% have had 10 or more moves.

Table 2.2 Sample Husbands And Fleet Officers

	Sample Husbands Percentages		Fleet Husbands Percentages
Average Age			
21-25	1.5 \		16.8\
26-30	21.4 42%		24.7 62.3%
31-35	19.1/		20.8/
36-40	19.8\		18.8\
41-45	23.7 58%		12.0 37.3%
44-50	10.7		4.7
Over 50	3.8/		1.8/
Education ⁶			
H.S. or Less	1.5		8.47
BA/BS	56.5		66.76
Grad Degree	42.0		24.77
Rank	Sample Percent	Number	Fleet Percent
All Admiral Ranks	3.0	3	.4
Captain	16.0	14	5.3
Commander	30.5	26	10.9
Lt. Commander	29.8	31	19.0
Lieutenant	14.5	38	31.7
Lieutenant, j.g.	3.8	19	14.0
Ensign	2.3	3	14.7
Warrant Officers	0		4.1

Unless otherwise noted, information is from Defense '88 Almanac, Department of Defense.

⁶ Information is from Manpower Data Center, Description of Officers and Enlisted Personnel in the U.S. Forces, 1985, Supplementary Tabulations, Vol. 1.

Table 2.3 Sample, Military, And Civilian Wives

	Sample Wives%	Total %	Military Wives %	Civilian Wives% ⁸
Education				
H.S.	3.8	100		80.8
Some College	41.2	96.2	80	74.7
BA/BS	49.6	55		
Graduate Degree	5.3			
Navy Officers' Minority Wives				
Black	2.3			
American Native	.8			
Hispanic	1.5	4.6	6.0	
Employment				
Working Wives with Employed Husbands	48.1		42.9 ⁹	56.5
Volunteer Work				
Employed	29.0	(88.9) ¹⁰	44.8	
Unemployed	31.3	(92.6)	45.0	
Years Married				
Less 5 Years	26.7		22	
Over 15 Years	38.9		33.3	
1st Marriage	90.8		86	

⁷ Demographics are from Manpower Data Center, Description of Spouses of Officers and Enlisted Personnel in the U.S. Armed Forces, 1985

⁸ Demographic information is from U.S. Bureau of the Census Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1990, 110th Edition, Washington D.C.

⁹ Data from American Military Families: Basic Demographics, Armed Forces YMCA of the USA, September, 1984

¹⁰ This percentage includes Officers' Wives Club charity work.

Table 2.4 Number Of Moves Sample Wives And All Military Wives

Moves	Sample Wives	Military Wives
0	1.5	3
1 - 3	28.5	35
4 - 5	15.4	20
6 - 9	26.2	27
10+	28.4	15

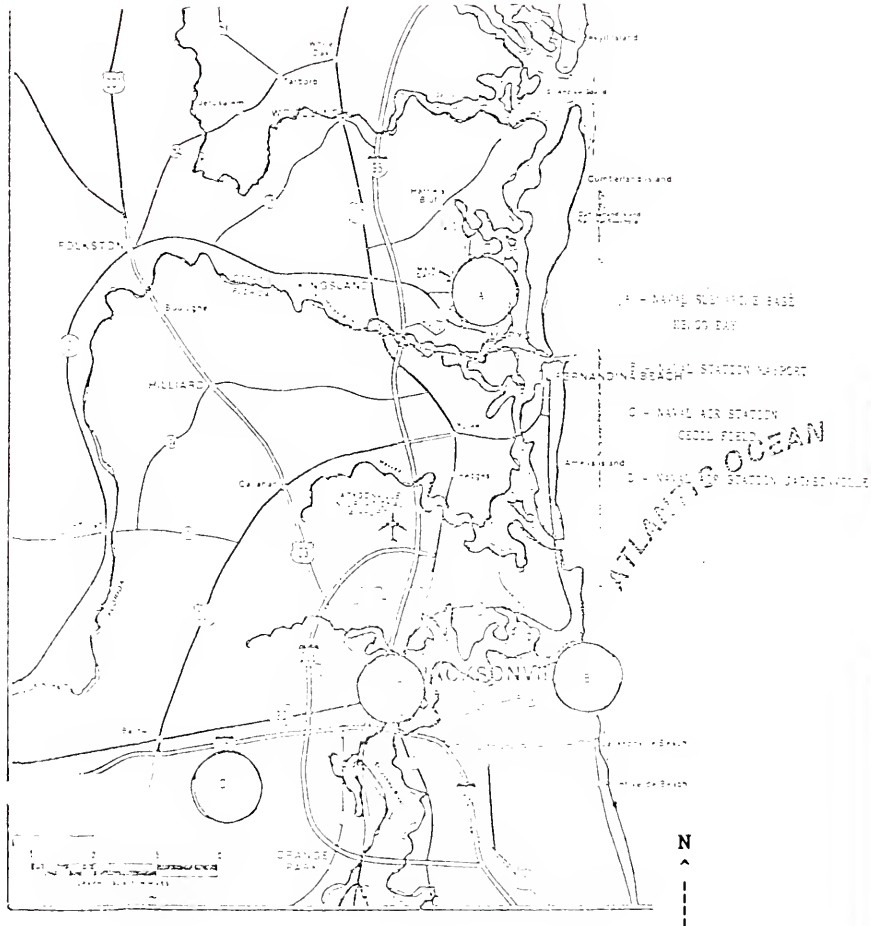


Figure 2.1 The Research Sites

CHAPTER 3 THE NAVY

Introduction

The mission of the United States Navy is to conduct prompt and sustained combat operations at sea in support of national interests (Officer of Information, 1989). The Navy maintains its hardware and personnel in a state of readiness to support national security policies with forward defense, coalition warfare, and maritime strategy (Office of Information, 1989).

This chapter presents an overview of the personnel and hardware used by the Navy for its missions. Since the early 1970s the United States Navy has added an additional dimension to its mission--the support programs for service family members.

The Navy Structure

The Industrial Complex

The U.S. Navy is a major industrial complex. It operates 585 ships, nearly 6,000 aircraft (Officer Programs and

Careers, 1988). With Congressional cutbacks this number is dropping. Ships commissioned to be built before the cutback will still enter the fleet. However, the Navy is no longer replacing all retired ships.

The Navy operates 255 installations in the United States and its territories. In addition, it has 43 installations in foreign countries (Defense '88).

The total active-duty force on March 31, 1990 was 597,829 men and women. Of this, 538,317 (90%), were males. Most Navy personnel serve in enlisted ranks. In March of 1990 there were 472,165 (90.1%) men and 51,787 women enlisted personnel--called, simply, "enlisted" in the Navy's jargon. The officer ranks reflect about the same percentage of distribution with 66,152 male officers (89.5%) and 7,725 (10.5%) female officers on active duty.¹

The Chain of Command

The hierarchical structure of the Navy is called the Chain of Command (Figure 3.1). At the top is the Chief of Naval Operations. Under him are the three theater commanders: the Pacific commander, the Atlantic commander, and the European commander (effectively the Mediterranean). These positions are all held by admirals. Under the theater

¹ Figures are from the Navy-wide Demographics Data for Second Quarter Fiscal Year 1990 (01 JAN to 31 MAR 90) released by the Department of the Navy, Naval Military Personnel Command (N-611F), Washington, D.C.

commanders come the fleet commanders, also admirals. They command the surface, air and submarine groups in each theater. The Pacific theater commander has the Third and Seventh Fleets in his command. The Atlantic commander is in charge of the Second Fleet. The Sixth Fleet is in the European theater.

Table 3.1 Navy Organizational Chart

Department of Defense		
Secretary of the Navy	Joint Chief of Staff	
Chief of Naval Operations (CNO)		
Theater Commanders		
U.S. Commander in Chief Pacific	U.S. Commander in Chief Atlantic	U.S. Commander in Chief Europe
Fleet Commanders		
Third, Seventh	Second	Sixth
Type Commanders		
Surface, Air, Sub	Surface, Air, Sub	Surface, Air, Sub
Ship, Submarine and Aviation Squadron Group Commands		
Unit C.O.'s of Ships, Submarines and Aviation Squadrons		

Each fleet commander has various types of surface ships, submarines, and aircraft under his direction. Aviation squadron commanders as well as ship and submarine commanders belong to a group such as an aviation wing or a destroyer squadron (called a DESRON).

At the unit level (ships, submarines and air squadrons) the command structure (Figure 3.2) is in five levels. At the top is a Commanding Officer (C.O.) and an Executive Officer

(X.O.). Down a level are the department heads. Under them, Junior Officers (Division Officers), Chiefs² and First Class Petty Officers supervise the enlisted personnel. Senior enlisted Chiefs and officers hold the supervisory and first level managerial positions.

Table 3.2 Ship, Submarine Or Air Squadron Unit Level Chain-Of-Command

Executive Level
 Commanding Officer (C.O.)
 Executive Officer (X.O.)

Department Head Level
 Next Highest Ranking Officers

Division Head
 Junior Officers
 Chiefs

First Line Supervisors
 Chiefs
 Petty Officers First Class

First Level
 Enlisted Personnel

The Navy Communities

This massive organization is divided into "communities." Each community is considered an integral part of the overall organizational mission, and all are governed by the organization's policies. Yet, each community maintains a

² Chiefs, or senior enlisted personnel will hold department head or division officer positions (supervisory) in small commands that have a limited number of officers.

separate identity reinforced by its particular mission and folklore.

The major communities are aviation, surface warfare, and submarine service. Their combat missions are: anti-surface warfare, anti-submarine warfare, anti-air warfare, amphibious warfare, and mine warfare. The submarine service, for obvious reasons, does not participate in anti-air or amphibious warfare; otherwise, all aircraft and ship communities participate in all combat missions.

Professional support activities have their own communities. These are the Medical Corps, Dental Corps, Chaplain Corps, Judge Advocate General, and the Supply specialists. The engineering branch is divided into the Civil Engineer Corps (officers) and the Seabees (enlisted construction battalions).

The United States Marine Corps also comes under the Navy Department. However, except for pilot training, medical, dental and support resources, they operate independently. The Coast Guard comes under the Navy Department in time of war.

The husbands of the women who shared their lives with me were attached to the Atlantic Fleet. This fleet is assigned 307 ships, 2300 aircraft, 226,400 Navy personnel and 50,000 Marines (Office of Information, 1989). As its name suggests, its area of responsibility is the Atlantic Ocean from the North Pole to the South Pole. It includes the Caribbean Sea, waters around Central and South America, the Norwegian,

Greenland and Barents Seas, and waters around Africa extending to the Cape of Good Hope.

Surface Line

The oldest branch of the Navy is Surface Warfare. It was established October 13, 1775 when the Continental Congress provided for a vessel and crew of 80 men (Spears, 1897). The mission was to intercept British storeships.

Today the Navy owns 277 major types of ships. Of 585 units in commission, 14 are aircraft carriers. There are 214 surface combatants (destroyers, battleships, cruisers, etc.) and 63 amphibians (Office of Information, 1989). Two of the aircraft carriers, 18 frigates, and 14 other types of vessels are homeported at Naval Station Mayport, where I conducted part of my research. These ships deploy as part of various task forces.

Aircraft carriers are the Navy's largest ships. These behemoths are over a 1,000 feet long and about 130 feet abeam. Each has a basic crew of over 3,000. When at sea, the carriers take on an additional 2,480 personnel from the air group. Frigates carry a crew of around 250. Guided missile cruisers, of which Mayport has three, carry a crew of between 400 to 600. The number depends on the class (or type) of cruiser. There are three destroyers based at N.S. Mayport. The crews on these ships vary between 339 and 400. Other type ships at N.S. Mayport include mine sweepers (with crews of

around 70), and a destroyer tender that has a crew of over 1,000.

The rank of a ship's commanding officer in the surface Navy depends on the type of ship. Aircraft carriers have captains in command, while smaller ships have lower ranking officers. The commanding officer of an aircraft carrier is chosen from the aviation community. Executive officers of ships are a rank junior to the commanding officers. They do not "fleet up" (advance to the command position) when their C.O. leaves.

The men and women of surface line ships are trained in specialty skills. Male officers and enlisted personnel serve aboard many types of ships in their naval career. Women, however, are prohibited by law from serving on combat ships (Binkin and Bach, 1977), although this latter issue is now under consideration in Congress. The Coast Guard has had women ship commanders for several years. The first Navy woman to command a ship took the helm of a salvage ship in 1991.

The Submarine Service

The first engagement of an American submarine occurred in 1777. The tiny sub is described as resembling "two upper tortoise shells of equal size" (Spears, 1897 p. 165). Its first engagement was against the British ship Eagle, but the foray was hardly a success: the sub sank before it reached its target.

The Atlantic Fleet submarine community has units at Groton, CT., Charleston, S.C., and at Navy Submarine Station Kings Bay GA. Kings Bay is home port for the Navy's newest nuclear submarine, the Trident. Kings Bay was completed in 1991, and was built specifically for the Trident class submarines. The Navy has not released figures on the size of the Trident submarine, but normally submarines hold a crew of about 140 men. There are no women in the submarine service.

Commanding officers of submarines hold the rank of Commander, and their executive officers are lieutenant commanders. Like their surface ship counterparts, executive officers on submarines do not assume command when the C.O. leaves. The X.O. tour is considered a training tour. Eventually the man will be given orders as commanding officer to another submarine.

Submarines on constant patrol are assigned two crews, Blue and Gold. Each crew embarks for six months. Officers in the submarine force spend more time on sea duty than on shore duty. In a 20 year career an officer can count on 12 years of sea duty (Office of Information, 1989:II-4).

Naval Aviation

Naval Aviation was born on "A blustery day in the early winter of 1910" when Eugene Ely flew his Curtiss biplane off the makeshift deck of the cruiser Birmingham (Radford and Craven, 1944:2). Today the United States Navy flies over

6,000 planes (Defense '88). Some, such as jets and helicopters, are still flying off of ships. Others, such as those engaged in maritime patrol, operate from land bases around the world.

The purpose of naval aircraft is to defend the fleet and to help ships carry out their mission. To this end naval squadrons are designated fighter, attack, utility, or anti-submarine. "V" is the Navy designation for fixed wing aircraft. "H" is the designator for rotor wing aircraft. The second letter represents the mission, such as "P" for patrol, "F" for fighter, "A" for attack, "S" for antisubmarine, "AL" for light attack, and "C" for combat. VF and VA jet squadrons are fighter and attack. The Navy's S-3 jet (VS) has a carrier-based antisubmarine mission. Helicopters (HC, HS, HAL) operate as utility workhorses, search and rescue aircraft, and as part of the antisubmarine deterrent. All these aircraft operate off naval ships.

Commanding officers of aviation squadrons are commanders, as are executive officers. Aviation is the only naval community in which the X.O. "fleets up" to the C.O.'s job when the C.O. is ordered out.

Aviation squadrons and detachments remain on ships only for the length of the cruise, which is usually 6 to 9 months. Aviation squadrons and detachments return to their land bases when their ships finish a sea tour and return to home port.

Few pilot jobs are without combat missions. The prohibition

against women in combat makes it difficult for women in the naval aviation community to get the jobs needed for command. The concept of women military pilots is not new. During World War II women pilots served as members of the Women's Airforce Service Pilot Corps (WASPS). Their mission was to ferry planes across the U.S. and to overseas bases.

The Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948 brought women into the regular military service (Binkin and Bach, 1977). It took 42 years, however, for the first women to command a Navy aviation squadron. Commander Rosemary Mariner, a jet pilot, took command July 1990 (Navy Times, July 30, 1990:16).

Jet pilots in the Jacksonville area are homeported at Naval Air Station Cecil Field. Helicopter squadrons are located at Naval Air Station Jacksonville, and at Naval Station Mayport. Squadrons of the Navy's largest aircraft, the P3 patrol plane, are based at Naval Air Station Jacksonville.

Types Of Duty

Sea Duty

To back its defense mission the Navy maintains supportive shore bases from which ships and planes deploy. The manning of these support facilities and the seagoing hardware results in a shore-sea duty rotation for active duty personnel.

Personnel assigned to jet and helicopter squadrons for sea duty will deploy aboard aircraft carriers and other ships, while maritime patrol personnel spent their sea duty operating from foreign bases.

There are 163 Navy bases in the United States with 500 or more permanent personnel. Major overseas bases are located in Bermuda, Cuba, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Mariana Islands, Okinawa, Puerto Rico, Republic of the Philippines, Sicily, Spain and Diego Garcia. Special tours of duty can take naval personnel to other countries such as England, Germany or Antarctica (Office of Information, 1989).

Sea duty does not mean two years before the mast. Work-up and inspection cruises can take as little as two weeks. Longer deployments (usually one each year per vessel) last about six months. Sea duty tours vary from three to five years, according to C.A. Tzomes of the Naval Military Personnel Command (personal communication). The deciding factors are the rate or rank of the individual, the job held, and the mission of the unit. Submariners have longer tours of sea duty than surface sailors or aviation personnel.

Mission demands of course can increase sea duty. Just prior to Desert Storm the deployment of the aircraft carrier Eisenhower was extended past her return time. (By tradition, all ships are referred to in the feminine gender). The carrier Saratoga also left for the Middle-East before her

scheduled deployment date. This extended her time at sea with no firm return date.

Sea duty units on the east coast usually deploy to the Atlantic, Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, the Caribbean and the North Sea. The west coast Navy units deploy to the Pacific and Indian Ocean area (Defense '88). Tours of duty, length of deployments, and areas of deployment are sensitive to international situations.

Officers deployed aboard ships pay for their food, laundry, and sundries. During sea duty, married personnel maintain two homes. One for themselves at sea, the other for their families on shore.

Assignments after sea duty are normally to shore duty jobs. Even with rotating duty, naval personnel generally spend eleven out of twenty years at sea (Tzomes, personal communication).

Shore duty

The purpose of shore establishments is to support operating sea going units. Shore commands include repair hubs, communication centers, training units, intelligence support units, logistics commands, medical facilities, and air bases.

Officers on shore duty can be assigned to a variety of billets. Some of these are out of their specialty. Shore duty jobs are on administrative staffs, station staffs, and as

instructors in training commands. Other shore duty billets are recruiting duty, ROTC units, and positions with the Navy in Washington D.C. Shore duty orders can also be to one of the Armed Forces' advanced staff training schools.

There are major shore commands. For Navy captains, command of a base is considered an important career position. It ranks second only to commanding a large ship. Professional occupation officers' commands are of hospitals, dental clinics, shore supply depots, and aviation repair centers.

Some shore assignments are time demanding. The commanding officer of a base has commitments to the local Chamber of Commerce, local schools and other civic organizations. Base commanders are expected to establish and maintain good relations with the civilian community.

Orders

Personnel are ordered into their new assignments with written official instructions called "orders." Billets are assigned by "detailers" from the Bureau of Naval Personnel (BUPERS). Detailers are naval personnel assigned the job as a tour of duty. They match a list of manning needs with a list of qualified personnel coming up for transfer.

Service personnel do have some input into their orders. They annually fill out preferential duty lists. They can also contact their detailers by phone, letter, or personal visit. Some negotiating is possible between the detailer and the

service member. Official orders are ordinarily issued three months before a move.

Orders are sometimes canceled or changed to meet operational demands. During Desert Shield and Desert Storm operations in the Persian Gulf in 1991, for example, personnel on the ships that were deployed in the region had their orders put on hold. Decommissioning of ships and squadrons due to budget constraints also results in new orders for crew members.

The Personnel Structure

Enlisted Personnel

The United States Navy has 74 occupation "rates" or titles that enlisted personnel can choose from. The rates cover a variety of warfare, mechanical, and seamanship skills. Some of the rates are: Boatswain's Mate, Aircrew Survival Equipmentman, Aviation Structural Mechanic, Data Processing Technician, Ocean Systems Technician, Legalman, Lithographer, Musician, Patternmaker and Aviation Ordnanceman. The gender of the rate holder does not change the name of the rate.

Enlisted personnel are mostly referred to by their pay grade. Initial enlistments are for two to six years depending on the program selected. Enlisted personnel enter with an E-1 pay grade (Table 3.3). Skills that require extensive training extend the recruitment period. Until they have completed their skill training qualifications enlisted personnel are

known as "Strikers", or people striking for an occupational specialty (Bearden and Wednertz, 1978).

The Navy's recruitment target is high school graduates 18 to 26 years old. Eligibility for the Navy and a specialty is determined by the standard Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB). This series of tests is used by all U.S. Armed Forces and is administered before entry.

Table 3.3 Enlisted Pay Grades

E-1 to E-3	Striker, Non-rated Personnel
E-4	Petty Officer Third Class (PO3)
E-5	Petty Officer Second Class (PO2)
E-6	Petty Officer First Class (PO1)
E-7	Chief Petty Officer (CPO)
E-8	Senior Chief Petty Officer (SCPO)
E-9	Master Chief Petty Officer (MCPO)

Enlisted Socialization and Training

The first school that recruits attend is Basic Training or "Boot Camp". Navy regulations and normative behaviors are stressed...learning to "think Navy" and "act Navy". After Basic Training recruits are sent to specialty schools for technical training. With 74 occupational specialties the Navy runs an extensive and sophisticated educational system.

When specialty training is completed, enlisted recruits are assigned to sea duty. They join the fleet as Petty Officers Third Class (E-4). About 40% of first term recruits leave the service after their initial commitment. For the rest, a naval career can last up to thirty years. Through a

series of occupational skill tests, training, and selection a sailor can rise to the more lucrative rates of Chief in about 12 years.

Officers

Warrant officers are enlisted personnel appointed to serve as an officer, but are not commissioned. These appointments are usually for enlisted personnel who have specific skills and experience in a critical field such as maintenance. There are four warrant officer ranks.

Commissioned officers enter the service as ensigns (O-1). The highest officer ranks are the various admirals (Table 3.4). The Chief of Naval Operations (CNO) is the ranking officer in the Navy. He is selected by the President from the active duty Admiral list. The CNO reports to the Secretary of the Navy and to the Chief of the Joint Chief of Staff. There is a rank called "Fleet Admiral" which is not filled at the present time.

College degrees are required of officer recruits. Officers come from the Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland, from college campus Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) programs, and from volunteer college graduates. Initial officer enlistment is from four to six years.

Table 3.4 Naval Officer Ranks And Pay Grades

JUNIOR OFFICERS

Ensign (ENS.) O-1
 Lieutenant Junior Grade (LTJG) O-2
 Lieutenant (LT.) O-3

SENIOR OFFICERS

Lieutenant Commander (LCDR.) O-4
 Commander (CDR.) O-5
 Captain (CAPT.) O-6
 Rear Admiral, Lower (RADM.) O-7
 Rear Admiral, Upper (RADM.) O-8
 Vice Admiral (VADM.) O-9
 Admiral (ADM.) O-10

Promotions and Selection for Command

When eligible for promotion, an officer is considered for advancement by a selection board. Each board is convened to consider promotions for one rank only. Members of the board are active duty naval officers on temporary selection board assignment. They are at least one rank higher than the rank they are promoting to. Any officer can be ordered to Washington to sit on a board.

The selection process is highly competitive. Officer performance evaluations, called fitness reports (FITREPS), are an important factor in the selection process. These fitness reports are written at least annually by commanding officers on each officer in their command. The board considers the fitness reports, reviews the officer's career file (jacket), then votes on selection. This competitive selection system continually pits officer against officer for promotion.

Eligibility for promotion is determined by time in grade, although an officer can be promoted early. This procedure is called being "deep selected." An officer can also be "passed over." This ominous phase means that he or she was not selected for the next rank. A non-selected officer is considered the following year by another board.

The penalty for being "passed over" twice for ranks up to and including lieutenant commander is dismissal from the service. Lieutenant commanders are guaranteed 20 years of service and minimum eligibility for retirement whether they are selected for the next rank or not.

Commanders with over 20 years are allowed to stay for 25 years, even if not selected for the next rank. Captains may remain for 30. With continual successful progression, an officer can expect to make full commander in about 15 years.

Non-selection is a life-time financial burden. Officers who retire with 30 years of service receive a pension of 75% of their highest basic pay. Twenty year retirees pensions are figured on 50% of their highest basic pay.

The selection process is a highly emotional time. So intense is the pressure for promotion that officers refer to the process as "sweating out a board." Wives strive to create a peaceful home environment while the board is in session. The household holds its breath. Once the board is dismissed, word gets out rapidly. It takes about three days for the official word to be sent by message around the world.

It takes less than a day for most selectees to find out that they were successful. The others live with hope until the official list is made public.

Success in the Navy depends on good jobs and good fitness reports. Since a career hangs on the opinion of the commanding officer, officers as well as their wives deal cautiously with the military organization.

The Navy's mission is at sea. Those who spend more time in jobs directly related to this mission, and those employed in hazardous duty, have a better chance for selection. Jet pilots fit these qualifications. Dangerous catapult takeoffs and arrested gear landings are normal shipboard routine for these pilots. The degree of danger in this community is marked by its high accident rate, which outnumbers any other community.

The V.P. community is considered one of the safest. However, all naval aviation is inherently dangerous. A mid-air collision that occurred during low level antisubmarine maneuvers off the coast of California on March 21, 1991 claimed the lives of eleven P-3 crew members. More naval personnel were lost in this incident than in any naval aviation action during Desert Storm.

A study by Roberts et al (1980) found that pilot errors are not judged the same by all pilots. How an error is perceived depends on the experience of the pilot judging the incident, and the folklore of the community. Whether other

pilots think of the incident as serious, or fun, dangerous or embarrassing affects the judgement and safety actions of the group. Those factors influence how pilots view each other, and other communities.

Officers of all communities are in constant competition with their peers for highly visible jobs that can lead to good fitness reports. Good officers also participate in activities above and beyond the call of duty to show their dedication and loyalty to the Navy. A wife who supports the Navy with volunteer work and social participation is an asset for a naval officer with career plans (Segal, 1990). Her actions speak of a family commitment to the organization.

Certain jobs are more career enhancing than others. Being an admiral's aide or a carrier catapult officer is highly desirable among junior officers. Serving as a department head, getting advanced education degrees and taking courses at senior military schools are considered way of "getting your ticket punched" for command. For the senior officer several command positions make him or her more competitive for admiral.

Command positions are also filled by board selection. Names of newly selected commanders and captains are forwarded to boards convened for the expressed purpose of choosing commanding officers. Not all commanders are selected for a command position. Having a command, however, is a must for promotion to the higher ranks of captain and admiral.

The differences in communities and personnel are compensated for during the selection process. Members of promotion boards represent all communities. Decisions are made with all information, occupational as well as personal, in mind.

Selections, like any organizational activity, have their politics which come into play in the upper ranks. Because of the large number of personnel needed in the lower ranks, the selection percentage is high. It is in the senior ranks (commander and above), and in the selection for command where politics are important. A good record is not sufficient for selection. The Navy considers all its commanders to be admiral material. An officer in the "selection zone" needs a "sponsor" on the board, someone who speaks for the candidate.

The number of officers to be promoted, and the required time in grade for promotion are factors sensitive to economics and politics. The stabilization of relations with Russia and recent budget cutbacks are affecting manning requirements of all the services (Navy Times, June 10, 1991:4). The result is less recruitment of personnel, force out of marginal officers and longer waits between promotions for all officers.

Support For Navy Families

The military became concerned with family issues after World War II (Little, 1971). Today's spouses and dependent children of military personnel are entitled to health care,

consumer items at prices lower than available to civilians, and inexpensive recreational facilities. Chaplains and chapels are provided at no cost to families. Military legal officers provide basic services such as drawing up wills and powers of attorney. CHAMPUS, a supplementary health program, allows family members to receive civilian medical attention not provided by the military.

Almost 50% of Navy personnel are married, and 65% of that number have at least one child. About 8,000 Navy personnel are single parents (Office of Information, 1989).

Navy Family Support

The Navy has instituted an official Family Support Program. Under this program 73 Family Service Centers (FSCs) have been established on Navy bases world-wide. These FSCs conduct counseling sessions and workshops. They provide information and referral services to social service and health care resources in the military and civilian community.

The FSCs' support other Navy programs such as the Ombudsmen Program, the Navy Family Advocacy Program, and the deployment cycle briefs. The Navy Family Advocacy Program uses Navy medical and local social service resources to identify, treat, and prevent spouse and child abuse.

The Family Support Program also maintains the special phone service (OTIS) that provides information for personnel with orders overseas. The line provides information on base

housing, shipment of autos, pets, and household goods overseas, available medical and dental facilities, and schools abroad.

FSCs work closely with the Ombudsman Program. This program was established by the Chief of Naval Operations in 1970 (Navy Family Ombudsman Manual, Sept. 1988). The Navy Ombudsman program gives Navy families an official representative to the command. The ombudsman is also a contact point for resource information.

Ombudsmen are spouses (men or women) of officers or enlisted personnel in a command. At Naval Station Mayport, 82 ombudsmen are wives of enlisted men, 11 are wives of officers. Every command must have at least one ombudsman, but a large command, such as an aircraft carrier, will have five or six. The ombudsman is appointed by, and is directly responsible to, the commanding officer of the unit.

Ombudsmen are the link between the C.O. and families in the command. Through phone trees and newsletters they disseminate information on military and civilian matters of interest.

Ombudsman training varies from base to base although there are training guidelines set down by the Department of the Navy. Local Family Service Centers coordinate the training with chaplains, the Volunteer Ombudsman Chairperson, and a military Executive Council.

Unofficial Support for Navy Wives

There is no orientation for the new Navy wife. She learns mostly by experience, by finding a role model, or from her husband. Before the seventies, new Navy wives depended on senior wives for socialization and information. Admirals' and captains' wives would conduct periodic lecture coffees. These informal affairs strengthened the ties among the officers wives up and down the ranks (Jowers, 1989). The "bible" of those earlier times was a book called The Navy Wife (Pye and Shea, 1955) now out of print. It described behaviors of an organization that held tradition above all else.

Today, information diffusion is managed through several unofficial channels. WIFELINE, a volunteer organization funded by donations, publishes several booklets on Navy life. The organization operates out of Washington D.C. Top ranking admirals' wives sit on its executive board. A managing board of volunteers reviews all publications every ten years. WIFELINE also works closely with the ombudsman program. It publishes a monthly Ombudsman Newsletter plus several booklets.

Another volunteer organization that concerns itself with the welfare and interests of military families is The National Military Family Association, Inc. The organization plays an advocacy role for military families on policies that affect their lives. It has served as a lobby group for military family members since 1969. According to the NMFA, its

activities are directed toward educating military families about their rights and to serving as an information source for policy makers (The National Military Family Association, 1988).

The Call Tree

The wives repeatedly referred to "the call tree". The call tree is a major influence on the of the wives' networks. It is a factor in the composition, utilization, and formation of these networks. Call trees are developed from unit command recall rosters. A recall roster is an official document listing the officers in a command, their addresses, and phone numbers. Only the C.O., X.O., their wives, and the duty officer have access to this list. This list is transformed into a social roster once the names of those who do not wish to be listed are removed. The social roster is available to all officers.

The call tree is developed from the wives listed in the social roster. Wives in the command are assigned to a "branch" caller. When the command, or the C.O.'s wife, has a message to be put out the call tree is used. The call tree is initiated by the C.O.'s or X.O.'s wife, or the call tree chairman (Figure 3.5).

The chairman calls her branch callers, and from there the message is sent out to the wives in the command. Wives not in the area or not on the call tree are called by the C.O.'s wife if necessary.

Table 3.5 Typical Call Tree

X.O.'s wife	C.O.'s wife	
	Call Tree Chairman	Ombudsman
Branch Caller	Branch Caller	Branch Caller
Command Wives	Command Wives	Command Wives

Elements Of The Occupation That Directly Relate To Families

The United States Navy is a patriarchal organization that rewards personnel with wages and benefits based in part on marital status. Using the leverage of welfare benefits and paternalistic policies, the Navy enters into the private lives of its personnel and their family members (Segal, 1990). Few civilian organizations control and influence the life of their workers as does the military. Salary supplements and benefits for wives and children make these dependents peripheral members of the organization. They also give the Navy the authority to regulate behavior.

Some military benefits continue after retirement. Use of the Navy Exchange, commissary, recreational facilities, and medical clinics are incentives for retirees to locate near military bases. This allows the military to extend its reach into the civilian retiree community.

The "cradle to grave" care offered by the Navy has its price. The Navy expects its personnel and their families to be dedicated and loyal (Segal, 1986). Active duty personnel

are expected to be available for work seven days a week. The job requires Navy men and women to move frequently and to be separated from their families for long periods. If necessary, military personnel are expected to lay down their lives for their country.

Moves

Most tours of duty are for three years. At any given time, one third of all personnel are in the process of moving in, one third are moving out, and the remainder are in the middle of their duty tour.

Families are not required to move with the military member. Most do, but children's schooling, a wife's career, and financial considerations keep some families apart. For example, like other middle-class American women (Bergmann, 1986), military wives are joining the labor force (Schwartz et al., 1991). Those with good jobs may be reluctant to move with no guarantee of finding further employment.

Selling a house can prevent or delay a family in joining a service member. It is the service member's responsibility to buy and sell his or her house. Unlike some corporations, and other government services, the military does not buy homes from its employees.

The Navy pays for the shipment of household goods, and the travel expenses of the military member. Only a portion of the family's travel expenses are paid. The amount allotted for the move depends on the rank of the officer. No matter

what the rank, moving expense are never fully covered. Such expenses as utility deposits and items needed to reestablish a household are borne by the officer. One wife estimated her out of pocket costs at over \$3,000. Some families decide to stay behind when the military spouse relocates, rather than pay these extra costs.

For the majority of families that move together, variations in housing markets across the country often mean trading in a low mortgage for one that is financially stressful. Inability to sell houses can mean two mortgages. The cost of living allowance for military personnel hardly covers the contingencies, so some families elect to live in base housing to save money.

On-base Housing

Those who live on base have the strongest ties to the military, but working and living on base tends to isolate a family from the civilian community (Moskos, 1988).

The choice to live on base depends on more than finances. The availability of quarters is a consideration. The military tries to move its people during the summer months so as not to interfere with school sessions. The biggest turnover for housing is during these months. Orders that do not coincide with housing vacancies might mean a wait of a year or more for base housing.

Some quarters go with the job. Commanding officers of bases usually are required to live on base. At NAS Jacksonville, quarters are also assigned to the commanding officer of the supply, medical, and aviation depot commands. In addition, there are two sets of admirals' quarters. The remaining two admirals in the area live at Naval Station Mayport.

The number of quarters available vary with bases. Naval Air Station Jacksonville has 407, Mayport Naval Station 1281, Cecil Field 305, and Kings Bay Submarine Base 415, with another 250 under construction. Officers and enlisted have separate housing areas.

When living in base housing, personnel must relinquish part of their pay called Basic Allowance for Quarters (BAQ). This varies by pay grade. The lowest grades, E-1's with dependents, receive \$289.80 a month. Lieutenants with dependents receive \$515.70. A commander with a family gets \$706.50 BAQ. Personnel without dependents receive about \$100.00 less.

On-base residents save on home maintenance and electrical bills. All repairs and upkeep, except yards, are the responsibility of the military. Enlisted and junior officers' housing is mostly duplex and triplex. Senior officer housing is single unit and most are over 25 years old.

Community Living

Living in the civilian community does have certain benefits. A family living off base has a choice of life style. They can also choose schools for their children. The Department of Defense does not have schools in the Jacksonville area which means all military children attend civilian schools.

The chance to choose a school district and maintain some control over private lives are strong incentives for community living. Many feel it is worth the additional cost. The Navy maintains a strong influence on the families no matter where they reside. This influence on the private lives of the wives is the subject of the next three chapters.

The Navy Culture and Society

This section compares several structural components in the main culture, private sector organizations, and the military. When known, Navy statistics are given.

Organizational Cultures

Organizational cultures are influenced by the goals of the organization, and the needs of its members. Goals of an organization are articulated in policies and supported by rewards and punishments. Members' needs are not as overtly stated. Employees make their needs known with informal networks (Britan and Cohen, 1980). The power of the informal

networks is potent enough to force institutional changes. Two examples of this are the Navy's Family Support Program, which was driven by the demands and needs of the families, and the Army's formalization of aid for job hunting wives.

While all organizations are influenced by the culture they are embedded in (Britan and Cohen, 1980), the Armed Forces also have to contend with the bureaucratic influence of the government. Military policies, structural components, and acceptable behaviors are set by the Congress.

Membership

Membership in the military and in private organizations is gained through application. Private sector organizations seek skilled employees to meet explicit needs. The military looks for trainable people (Pinch, 1982). Most military occupation skills are not found in the general culture. Therefore, part of the military mission is to train its members in the skills needed to conduct war.

Some of the military's skills are adaptable to the civilian sector. For example, the Air Force and Navy are the number one suppliers of commercial pilots. While the civilian sector benefits from military trained personnel, the reverse is not true. It is only in wartime that the military enlists personnel trained outside the services.

Although drawing its members from the general culture, the military population does not represent the general

population. Membership in the military has age limitations. Service personnel fall between 18 to about the mid-fifties. These limitations are set by the mission which requires highly trainable young men and women in good physical condition.

Even with a 30 year career, military men and women are seldom over 55. Thirty nine percent of all naval personnel are between 21 and 25 (Defense, 88). Less than a half percent in this age group are officers.

In the overall American population 7.9% are in the 20-24 age group. In the over 50 age group 75% are officers. This latter group represents only 1.5% of all naval personnel. In the civilian sector 8.9% are between 50 and 59 years of age.

Private corporations hire by occupational need. Depending on their product, or service, employees can range from 17 to over 65. While civilian organizations hire for skills, membership in the military is gained by meeting education requirements and passing medical, physical fitness and various I.Q. tests.

Private sector employees come from all socio-economic backgrounds. Civilian organizations control the socio-economic level of their employees by controlling their salaries and educational levels.

Service personal generally span the middle class. Socio-economically, the military is in the main middle class. When recruiting goals are not met, the lowering of test scores

increases the number of lower-middle class in the service (Eitelberg, 1989).

Required high school diplomas (or GED certificates) give the military a broader basic education level than found in the general culture. However, the Armed Forces have fewer college graduates. Military pay is controlled by Congress, and a matter of public record. Cultural values on war influence pay rises. With no union to negotiate pays and benefits, military members are at the mercy of the public and the government. The private sector offers college graduates more earning potential. Graduates wishing to maximize their earnings are not drawn to the military profession.

Sixteen percent of all military are college graduates compared with 22% in the civilian population. Only one third of all military personnel have had some college, while in the civilian sector 45% have college credits (Eitelberg, 1989).

The military does not represent the minority population in the United States. In the Navy officer corps 7.9% are minorities. Of this number 3.5% are black. In the civilian sector 6% of the executives, managers and professionals are black. In the general population 23% are black, in the Navy 15.2% are black enlisted personnel. The Navy has the lowest overall percentage of minorities of all services (Defense, 88).

Women represent about 11% of all military personnel (Eitelberg, 1989). The largest increase in female recruitment

has been by blacks. In 1971, 14.4% of all active duty enlisted women were black. This rose to 33.7% in 1989 (Moore, 1991). Black female officers rose from 3.3% to 13.2% in the same period. Ten percent of the Naval officers, and 8.9% of the enlisted ranks are women. Hispanic females make up the largest percentage of minority women in the Navy (38.6%) (Defense '88).

Values

Military training courses attempt to teach a single set of values to all their members. These values place duty, honor, country and patriotism above self and are focused on the group good (McCloy and Clover, 1988). Private organizations, by contrast, have goals that focus on achievement, competition, productivity and success. Institutional goals are vague and overlap between organizational values and the need for achievement.

In the American culture success is measured by material gains. In the military success is measured by the rank held. With publicized incomes the success measurement becomes prestige.

Promotions in the civilian sector come from selection by senior personnel who have personal knowledge of the selectee. In the military, promotions are gained through time in grade and by a board selection. Members of the board usually do not know the individual they are promoting. Decisions are made

based on records and written recommendations of former commanding officers.

As an institution created and governed by the political system, the Navy structure supports the normative values and behaviors found in the general culture. The current concerns and policies surrounding substance abuse are aggressively supported by the military. Substance abuse is a critical issue in the society. While the civilian sector carries on a paper campaign of "Just Say NO to drugs", the military takes a firmer stand with unannounced, random urinalysis testing for all personnel. Users are sent to rehabilitation centers, or are given severe disciplinary penalties (Ballweg and LiLi, 1991). These policies have resulted in almost negligible illegal drug use in the Armed Forces.

Civilian organizations are just beginning to implement policies of random drug testing. The Navy has had such a policy since the mid-seventies. In a 1980 anonymous survey, 43% of Navy personnel admitted to using drugs. This dropped to 28.1% in 1982, 15.9% in 1985, and 11.3% in 1988. Drinking dropped from 86% in 1980 to 84.2% in 1988, after a slight rise in 1985 (Ballweg and Lili, 1991).

The military's anti-smoking policy has not been as successful as its other substance abuse programs. In 1982, 55.4% of naval personnel smoked. In 1989 the percentage of smokers dropped to 43%. This figure is higher than the civilian percentage of 29.6%.

The percentage of Navy recruits who smoke is 27.6%, while in the fleet 49.8% of the sailors are smokers (Ballweg and Lili, 1991). The increase indicates that a number of Navy personnel take up smoking after they join the service. Like civilian organizations, the military has no smoking work and recreation areas. However, cheap cigarettes at Navy Exchanges, and the stress and boredom of shipboard life might explain the increase.

Marriage and Family Values and Behaviors

Marriage patterns are of little concern to private organizations. They legislate only the working hours of their employees. Behaviors that have no bearing on an employee's job are considered to be his or her own concern and not the company's. Employees with private sector companies work set hours, with overtime conditions clearly stated as policy.

Military personnel are considered "on duty", or are on call, 24 hours a day, every day. Because of this total time commitment, the military concerns itself with all aspects of an employee's life.

Private matters, such as marriage patterns, lifestyles, and family behaviors impact on the performance of service personnel (Derr, 1979). In turn, these elements are influenced by the military lifestyle (Marsh, 1989).

Deployments, frequent moves, and work demands of the profession, limit social interactions with non-military

people. Still, military males are more apt to have civilian spouses than military females. Almost 77% of all male officers are married to civilians. In the enlisted ranks, 54.1% are married to civilian women.

The number of female officers married to military males is almost double that of female officers with civilian spouses (31% compared to 17%). Among female enlisted personnel 32.4% have spouses in the military, 15.8% are married to civilians.

Overall there are fewer males married to female military personnel. Only 3.1% of the officers, and 3.5% of the enlisted male population are married to military personnel. Military women find it more difficult to establish and sustain relationships with civilian men. Most civilian men are unwilling to give up their jobs to follow a service wife.

To my knowledge there are no statistics kept by the government on marriages between men and women working in the same private sector organization. In the past private sector companies tended to discourage fraternization among employees. Based on this, it would be fair to conclude that the percentage of marriages between employees working for the same civilian organization is less than it is in the military.

The same marriage patterns found in the civilian sector can be found in the military. The Armed Forces tend to be more conservative. In the enlisted ranks 18% of the wives are remarried. Thirteen percent of all officers' wives have been married before (Department of Defense Manpower Data Center,

1986). In the overall population the percent of remarriages ranged from 32.4% for age group 35-44, to 4.6% for the 20-24 age group.

Overseas duty accounts for the higher percentage of foreign military wives compared to the general population. In 1980, 6.2% of the married male population had foreign wives. The Department of Defense family survey in 1985 found 16% of enlisted men's wives, and 8% of officers' wives were foreign born.

The values that allow single parents in the main culture are also evident in the military. There are both male and female single parents in the services. For these parents there are some advantages to being in the military. Medical attention is free for the dependents of active duty personnel. Bases have economical child care centers, and inexpensive clothing stores. Base housing provides single parent families with economical, safe, and attractive housing.

In the civilian sector 1.3% of the male population and 8.1% of the female population are single parents. In the military about 3.5% of all enlisted, and slightly over 2% of all officers are single parents (Department of Defense Manpower Data Center, 1986).

Working Wives

Since the occupational model, more Navy families are living in the civilian community, and in doing so are

adjusting their lifestyle to civilian standards (Moskos, 1988; Segal, 1989). Military wives are entering the job market like non-military wives (Schwartz et al., 1991). Although the number of employed military wives is less than civilian wives, it is increasing. This increase in employment has caused the U.S. Army to seek ways of helping wives to find jobs (Schwartz et al., 1991). The Army believes that working wives are more satisfied with military life and more apt to encourage husbands to stay in the service.

The Future Navy Culture

Behaviors and values in the military are more traditional and conservative than in the general culture. Self-selection and promotional rewards result in a fairly homogenous group. Despite the move toward occupational, or civilian norms, the profession's elements are stronger in defining the culture. The future promises a more homogenous service. Military cutbacks in personnel and materials will tend to eliminate those who do not quite fit into the organizational culture mold.

CHAPTER 4 THE OFFICER'S WIFE AND THE ORGANIZATION

The Navy approaches its military person and his wife as a unit. A Navy wife is a Navy wife. It is not Angela and Bryant, it is Bryant and his wife. I don't think they mean "the Navy wife job is the hardest job in the Navy." Saying it doesn't mean anything. Action would prove it. You marry a Navy guy you marry the Navy, you have no choice in that. You marry a Navy guy you inherit the whole damn Navy in all its tradition, in all its misconceptions, the whole bag.

Angela

This chapter is about changes in the military and the officer's wife's role since the all volunteer force (AVF) began--especially the role of the commanding officer's wife and executive officers's wife. First the wives describe what they do, and then they describe what happens when there are no senior wives to perform these tasks. Although the wives are in agreement on many issues, the reasons for their actions are varied and sometimes vague.

Changes In The Navy And In The Wives' Roles

Family problems were not an issue for the military until after World War II. During the Cold War, the need for a large standing army brought hundreds of thousands of married personnel into service. By September 1968 more than 75% of the officers and 42% of the enlisted men in the armed forces

were married (Little, 1971). As the manpower needs of the AVF grew, the policies of the military, regarding hiring and retention of personnel began to resemble those of the private sector (Janowitz, 1977; Moskos, 1977). In an attempt to encourage retention, the Navy developed two major family programs: Family Service Centers and the Ombudsman program.

The changes in the Navy's policies and programs that brought them more in line with occupational values and the civilian sector, also served to change the role of the officers' wives. The officer's wife, who formally was the social arbiter in the 1950s, took on more occupational tasks, her responsibilities paralleling her husband's (Segal, 1989). The higher his rank, the more important his position, the more organizational responsibilities she acquired (Segal, 1989).

Effects Of Wives On The Organization

Wives' dissatisfaction with military life is the number one reason men leave the service (Bowen, 1989). In the high tech Navy, recruiting and training costs make retention an important issue.

The attitudes of wives also affects the performance of husbands. Unhappy wives who cannot cope with the military life distract men from their jobs (Derr, 1979). Naval personnel are on call 24 hours a day, and some duties mean a seven day work week. Deployments take men away from their families for as long as a year. Sending a sailor home to

handle personal problems is generally impossible. The spouse must manage alone, but a dissatisfied Navy man or woman, particularly an officer in charge of many, can be a costly liability.

Recognizing that some problems can not be solved by a lone wife, the Navy encourages cooperation among the wives, and the use of organization resources. The Navy officially sponsors The Navy Wives Club, an organization that offers social support and charity involvement for the wives of enlisted men. Unofficially, the organization supports officers' wives clubs and support groups. Ship support groups are made up of dependents and adult relatives of crew members. These groups meet when the ship is out. They offer social and emotional support and current deployment information.

While recognizing that the wife's organizational role is voluntary, the military still has certain expectations. What effect the increase in working wives has on these expectations is unclear. As more senior officers' wives join the labor force, this becomes an issue (Segal, 1989, 1990).

Table 4.1 How Wives Affect The Organization

<u>Element Influenced</u>	<u>Wives' Behaviors</u>
Retention in Navy	Force husbands to choose between Navy career and them Demand husband be home for events Unable to cope with professional occupation demands: deployments frequent moves.
Performance of Officer	Emotionally unable to cope with separations No social support system Cannot manage home problems when husband's gone Does not give husband emotional support Sends negative letters when on deployment
Career Success of Officer	Create emotional problems during deployments Lack of understanding for husband's professional obligations Not a "team player"

Wives' Attitudes Affect Retention

As the wife of an admiral, Barbara has a broader perspective of the Navy than most wives. She recognizes the influence of wives on retention.

Jim said anytime an aviator puts in his letter to get out almost without fail 99% of the time it's because they say their wives just cannot do it anymore. It's an either or choice. "You get out, or we are not going to be married anymore." They always are sorry they are getting out, but they are doing it for their family.

Wives Influence Performance

Susan's husband is a ship's commanding officer. As a Navy wife of many years she is well aware of the influence wives have on husbands, especially when men are on sea duty.

Right now I think there are a lot of unhappy Navy wives in regards to things like ship schedule. Very often they don't realize that the C.O. doesn't have control over the ship's schedule. A lot of stressed out women really don't know how to set up a social support system and they rely on their husbands completely. When he is not there it causes a lot of unhappiness in the home. That's going to filter into how well he does his job.

Asked if a wife could influence her husband's professional performance, Barbara, whose husband is the admiral in charge of the jet community in Jacksonville, replied:

Well, she could, to the degree that if he's not in top form then his performance could have a negative impact on the squadron. Most of the aviators are pretty much able to disassociate themselves when needed. That's part of what makes them do what they do. When there are a lot of problems, that's when they wind up getting divorced.

A wife's attitude can work for or against her husband's performance. A lieutenant's wife living on base at Naval Air Station Jacksonville compared how she and her neighbors react to Navy life:

Two of the gals on the street are having some severe long distance problems. One said "It's different. You are a really good Navy wife and I'm not."... They are like two separate individuals. They are both doing their separate careers and their separate lives. The husband of the gal next door wants to do one thing, and it's not good for her as far as her career is concerned. He was ROTC and she asked him if he would go away to sea and he said, "Yes I will

have to go twice." And, she thought that meant twice in his career, not twice in his tour of duty. She said, "If I had known that, I wouldn't have married him." You can almost tell what couple is going to stay in and what couple is going to get out. And of the couples that are staying in you can see which marriages will survive and which will not...If he is not happy, getting the support at home, he will not do a good job down at the squadron or at sea. Kevin knows that he can go that extra mile. If he says, "There is a two week cross country coming up and the C.O. is going as pilot," I'll say "O.K. Call me when you land." I know there are wives out there who say it's not fair, but you have to do it. I asked him, "What will the next fitrep [fitness report] say? They already say you walk on water."

Organization Responsibilities Of Navy Officer's Wives

Segal (1986) refers to the military as a greedy institution that makes demands on family members. The military is not the only organization that is greedy. Kanter (1977) found that corporate wives were plagued by similar inclusion/exclusion problems. Although these civilian wives held no formal position with the company they were expected to perform certain tasks for it. Kanter divides these tasks into four categories: secretarial, social, consulting, and emotional aid.

A Naval officers' wife performs many of the same tasks as a civilian corporate wife. One wife interviewed a prospective midshipman when her husband was at sea. Another hosted social events for the crew of a visiting British ship.

A committee of volunteer officers' wives worked on arrangements for the National Helicopter Association meeting

in Jacksonville. They planned the wives' luncheon and obtained free gifts for the conferees. When the military comptrollers held their convention in town, another wife put together 3500 registration packets. An admiral's wife played tour guide to the Austrian Joint Chief of Staff and his wife. A design consultant worked on her husband's military office. Like their civilian peers they also supply emotional aid and support their husbands' professional roles.

Support and Emotional Aid for Husbands

Wives are told that men at sea cannot concentrate on their jobs if they receive negative or complaining letters from home. Jessica, a bride of four months, has already been informed of her Navy wife's responsibility. Her husband was two months into his six month deployment on the USS America at the time of this interview.

I have been told you are supposed to write letters, write positive, never write anything negative. People who come to talk to Navy wives say the same thing. Swallow resentment, smother it.

Elaine explains some of the problems she has faced during her husband's deployments.

The first time around I wrote my husband hate letters about what I didn't like. He was 1500 miles away. He wrote, "What can I do about it? I can't change it." A long distance argument doesn't work. It takes four weeks to get a letter out and back. After that I never wrote a nasty letter about the C.O.'s wife or anything. Usually you wait a day before you write the letter in the heat of battle. My child has an asthma attack every time my husband's gone. They used to take bets on how long after the ship left before Eric [son] would get

hurt. I'm not going to write this panic letter when he's 2,000 miles away. That's stupid. What is he going to do? His mother was half dead. He was in the Caribbean playing "peeky no see" [anti-submarine exercise]. I called the Commodore and said, "When the ship is in Norfolk, tell Jim his mother is sick." I wanted to wait until they hit a port so he could do something about it....It's a family commitment. If the family is not committed to the active duty member's job he can't do it.

A commanding officer's wife was in the middle of baking cookies for Homecoming. The squadron was arriving the following day from a six month deployment. Some of the planes were flying in a day early, and she was coordinating arrival times with the wives. In between taking batches of cookies out of the oven "for the enlisted men's barracks" and calling squadron wives whose husbands were on the early fly-in, she managed these comments.

My role is trying to get him through the C.O. tour. In the Helo [helicopter] community, when the guy is gone you have to supply support and maintenance. You have to be there for your children because the guy's gone. If you're not there, there's nobody there, and the family just falls apart.

Even a newly married lieutenant's wife understood her supportive role.

I try to be a supportive Navy wife and help further my husband's ambition. Right now support is in the form of a lot of letters and packages. The peace of mind that he has is knowing that I am able to run the house while he's gone, and everything isn't falling apart. That I'm trustworthy. That helps him to do his job better while he's away. My bottom line is that I want him to be happy.

The military also views the officer's wife as a performer for the organization. Dotti's husband is just entering his

C.O. tour. She thinks the wife can influence an officer's assignment.

I don't think I help further his career, like "Wow, he's got a great wife, lets promote him." But I think I make it easier for him to do well....I'm sure there are jobs that the Navy looks at the husband/wife team, and they are not going to send a wife who wants nothing to do with the Navy into a job where it is important to get involved with other wives.

Pat knows that to be true from personal experience. Her captain husband was a candidate for a plum position. Pat was initially ambivalent about the job. However when

...the detailer called me, we talked for an hour. He wanted to tell me, "This is really a good deal. I think you should take this. This is it, this is his chance." I knew I didn't have a choice. If I would have said, "There is no way", Kevin would have turned down orders. There is a legitimate reason for considering a man's marital status.

The commanding officer of a Naval station put it this way:

If I've got a job where I want some guy to work 18 hours a day, I'll pick a single guy. But if the job involves families at all, I want a married officer with a wife who participates.

Providing Support for the Navy Community

For officers' wives the giving of support and emotional aid sometimes extends beyond the husbands into the Navy community. This can take the form of volunteer work with agencies that serve the Navy.

Phyllis is the volunteer chair of Navy Relief. Navy Relief is a non-profit civilian organization funded by donations from naval personnel. It operates world-wide

offices on Navy bases. Except for a few paid trainers and directors, it is staffed by Navy wives and retiree volunteers. Navy Relief offers aid to sailors and marines in the form of counseling, loans and grants.

Phyllis' lieutenant commander husband is on shore duty with the submarine service at Kings Bay Georgia. When Hurricane Hugo hit Charleston South Carolina in 1989, Phyllis was asked to help Navy families. The ships at Charleston Naval Base had been sent to sea to ride out the hurricane and could not return when the storm hit. Encouraged to evacuate, Navy families in the Charleston area got in their cars and headed out. Many found their way to the submarine base at Kings Bay Georgia. Phyllis remembers it well.

It started at 11 o'clock Saturday morning, after the hurricane. I received a call from an ombudsman. We were going to collect some items and send them up to Charleston. I took it upon myself to get hold of the chaplain on the base and ministers in town to solicit items from their parishioners. We started Saturday putting it out over the radio. We collected items outside the main gate of the base. About four o'clock, we had several people show up needing places to live, food to eat, and wanting messages sent to loved ones to tell them where they were. I worked with the local hotel and inn people. We kept a log of who was here. As the boats came into Kings Bay we could tell them if their families were here. I worked closely with Squadron 16 to make sure we got families reunited with service members. We were receiving phone calls from hotels saying: "We have so and so here. Will Navy Relief cover it?" On Monday, we opened the barracks to house people, and fed them. They were all saying, "I knew if I could get to a Navy base, the Navy would take care of me." We hadn't anticipated them leaving home and driving south and stopping at the first Navy base. We processed 59 families, but thought we had another 59 we didn't know about but were tapping into resources here.

Socialization and Support of New Navy Wives

The rank of lieutenant commander is the first senior officer level in the Navy. In aviation squadrons lieutenant commanders are department heads. On smaller ships they can be the commanding officer.

Judith's husband is a department head in a patrol plane squadron. She sees her role as that of supporting the younger officers' wives and providing a role model.

As far as wives' clubs and stuff, the higher you get, you really should spend more time in it, because the younger wives, they have a new baby, and they aren't sure how to do it, how to handle it. I feel responsible to help them out. I'm not sure my behavior has contributed to my husband's success. But I do know that keeping him happy at home helps him to do a job better.

Phyllis knew little about the Navy when her husband was made a department head on a submarine. She learned fast.

As a department head's wife one of the first things I was told was that these are your duties. You are to be active in the wives' club. You are to get to know the wives whose husbands serve in your husband's department.

The wife of a helicopter squadron executive officers explained the important role of lieutenant commanders' wives in the socialization of new Navy wives. The extent to which the wives are considered to have organization responsibilities is evident in her choice of words.

The system has been built that you need their [lieutenant commanders's wives] support in helping the young wives see what this is all about. The [wives of the] five department heads you have in the

squadron need to participate and come with past experiences and examples...we have five lieutenant commanders, and the rest are nuggets, this is their first tour. There are ensign's and lieutenant j.g. [junior grade] wives who have never been on cruise before. They have no idea what it's like to be part of a squadron. I feel it is up to the department heads and C.O., X.O. to provide them with some idea of what squadron life is all about. The lieutenant commander's wives bring that expertise and background to the group, and if you have a couple of wives who work, we miss that depth.

Responsibilities Of Senior Officers Wives

Not all the officers' wives have the same responsibilities. The promotion of a husband to executive officer or commanding officer brings with it additional responsibilities for the wife. She is asked to be the official advisor to the enlisted men's wives and the officers' wives clubs. If there is an overall officers' wives' club on the base, she becomes an executive board member. The Navy wants her to work with the command ombudsman and support the Ombudsman (Navy Family Ombudsman Manual, 1988) and Family Service Centers programs.

Monitoring and managing the morale and welfare of the command families is a task of the senior officer's wife. An admiral's wife compared her role with that of a corporate president's wife.

If he were president of some corporation I wouldn't have to worry about the wife of the mail room boy, if his wife were sick or something like that, which you have to do basically when the men are on cruise. When you are the C.O.'s wife or something like that you are like the mother hen. The doctor's wife doesn't have to worry about the people who work in

the hospital or their families.

The Power of Command

The organization's expectations of the senior wife is not just because of her experience as a Navy wife. In today's society of divorce and remarriage the senior wife may be fairly new to Navy life. What all senior wives have in common is referent power. This shadow role of wives was alluded to by Admiral Thomas Hayward, former Naval Chief of Operations, when he told a group of Navy wives (Snyder 1978a:21), "I regard you as part of the chain of command." Sometimes the power is very real.

Ellen is the mother of three children, and has been a Navy wife for 15 years. Her husband is the commanding officer of a frigate home ported at Mayport Naval Station. She thinks the C.O.'s wife has power.

I would say because of her position, because she is looked upon by other people as having a certain amount of position and power, whether she is aware of it or not. Others behave in certain ways. Your word carries a little more weight. You are watched more carefully. Your opinion means a little more. I was amazed, for example, when the wives club was disestablished. I was expecting I could not close the account because I wasn't on the account. But when I went in and said, "I am so and so. We need to close the account", they said, "Fine", on my say so alone. The ship was deployed. It was done. Because my life is tremendously affected by the Navy, I do consider myself a part of it. Basically it is 75% of my life.

Chris was nearing the end of a six month deployment as Commanding Officer's wife. She doesn't quite agree that

C.O.s' wives have power. Yet she admits to using her husband's power to get things done.

I don't think you have any power, but I think you could use your husband's power. Oh, yes I do. I think you can make some calls and say, "My husband's C.O. of whatever", and get a lot further than someone who calls and says, "My husband's an A2 (enlisted rank)."

Having power isn't always a positive experience. The wife of a base commander commented on its negative aspects.

Everybody wants something from me all the time. People want favors because of his job. They want me to intercede and help them do this and that. There is this young man who can't get in the hospital to get an operation. They will only take active duty. I'm asking for a favor for this kid. He can not be CHAMPUSED out. He has no money. He can't play football without the operation. All the time, they are always asking favors. I have to go and beg for the operation. I asked Kevin, help this one, help that one. I got the enlisted wives an air conditioner for their club house. It's always something extra. I'm a library sponsor. We have raised over \$5,000. I'm after them all to donate money. Then they go to Kevin and say, "How about building this handicap ramp?" Its a barter thing.

The Role of the Shore Duty Senior Wife

On shore duty there are no long deployments. Time away from family is usually no more than a few days. The shore duty role of the senior wife strongly resembles the old traditional Navy wife's role. She supports her husband and Navy policies. Most of her organizational activities center around social events. Occasionally she is called upon to guide and advise younger wives.

Susan is a captain's wife who has been through two tours as a commanding officer's wife. Her husband's present tour is a shore based command.

I do whatever the traditional roles are that he needs to follow....I provide support for him, like listening. If he thinks it is important to do something, go somewhere. I make my feelings known, depending on what his job is. There are a lot of unwritten responsibilities. It's a matter of choosing those which I feel are most important. I am basically the contact and resource for C.O./X.O. wives of the VP squadrons. I am an ombudsman for the VP wives. I am chairperson of the VP ombudsmen. Those are the specific things I do for VP.

A captain's wife from Mayport Naval Station talked about social obligations.

I support DESRON¹ activities, attend change of commands, attend cocktail parties when guest ships are in the area. For example, this Friday there is a British ship coming in. So C.O.'s and X.O.'s are all invited to attend those activities. There's a DESRON picnic on Sunday. We're attending that.

Dorothy also comments on the social responsibility of C.O.s' wives.

Rich feels strongly about it being a team effort, [He believes in] strong support of squadrons, hosting social events at home, attending squadron affairs. There's a lot of entertaining, of both enlisted and officers.

Interviews with Navy officers' wives produced a total of sixteen organizational tasks for wives. Officers' wives perform varying amounts depending on the rank and position of their husbands. Seniority of husband does not necessarily mean more tasks. Table 4.2 shows that most tasks are

¹ DESRON - Destroyer Squadron Command. The senior command for a squadron of fast frigates or destroyers.

performed when husbands are commanding officers and executive officers. Figure 4.1 graphically shows the difference between wives.

Ombudsmen are the only Navy wives who have tasks officially assigned by the organization. These wives can be either officers' wives or wives of enlisted men. The position is voluntary.

The Role of the Sea Duty Senior Wife

It is during sea duty that the senior officer's wife is faced with the most demanding tasks. All C.O.'s are concerned with family problems that impact on their sailors. Senior officers' wives left on the pier shoulder the responsibility of monitoring and managing the welfare and morale of the command families.

One captain's wife had been through two jet squadron sea commands and a base command. She thinks the C.O.'s wife definitely has a job, especially during sea duty.

I think as your husband goes up in rank there should be recognition that the wife is always working for the Navy, and I don't think the Navy recognizes that. I think the Navy thinks that the husband is there doing it and the wife is in the background being a wife. However when the husbands are deployed the wives are the ones that keep happiness here and keep things moving here when there are problems and ups and downs. It's usually on the C.O.'s and X.O.'s wives and the ombudsman.

The importance of these tasks is underlined by the military's concern with retention and performance. The deployments are stressful on wives (Federline, 1983). The

separations can cause emotional upheaval and illness in the wives (Snyder, 1978a). When the men are deployed, communications are difficult, slow, and sometimes non-existent. When emergencies arise, sailors' families turn to the commanding officers and executive officers' wives.

Maureen totes up what a C.O.'s wife does during deployments.

I work with the ombudsman to be sure that the families are provided for when the ship is out, give direction to the support group, interpret what my husband wants. Play mother. There are a lot of very, very young enlisted wives. This is their husband's first tour, first experience with the Navy. You try to make it a positive one. [I spend] a lot of the time on the job, being available.

Commanding officers' wives find themselves playing the mother role frequently. Sometimes their nurturing behavior places them in difficult situations. Many of the enlisted men's wives are young, scared, and far away from home. During Desert Storm these problems were exacerbated putting even more stress on C.O.s' wives like Debbie.

One of the wives has a baby in convulsion. She is only 19 years old. So the X.O.'s wife and I are taking turns at the hospital. Where does my responsibility stop? Should I be there at the hospital asking all the hard questions? Is this young sailor going to come home and tell me I should mind my own business? It's hard to know when you're overstepping your bounds. I hope it all doesn't make me physically sick.

Chris is a mother and a working woman. Her commanding officer husband is deployed with his helicopter squadron in the Mediterranean. Her Navy wife role has been particularly demanding.

I've handled a lot of problems for wives, especially when the guys are gone. I've handled everything from the deaths of children to deaths of parents as far as getting messages back and forth, getting people set up with Red Cross, so we can get the military person home...offering support. You almost take the place of the squadron when they are gone. You're the one that ultimately gets called. They might go through the ombudsman first, but the ombudsman ends up calling you and saying, "Is this what I should do?", or "How do I handle this?" This time my ombudsman gave out. So, I have been doing all of that. I've been working as a liaison between the people at home and the squadron or Navy. A lot of times you can't get to the squadron, so you go through other routes to solve the problems. It's not the same when they are home. When home, the wife goes to the husband, the husband goes directly to the C.O. of the squadron. I hardly ever know that some things have gone wrong.

The C.O.'s wife's responsibility in the ship community is no different than that in the aviation community. Kay's husband has command of a mine sweeper at Mayport Naval Station. Her responsibilities are much like Chris's.

It's a leadership role. I try to keep everyone happy in the ward room, to see that everyone gets along, especially during a deployment. Unless you have some family this is it. The Navy is your family. The ombudsman is a good resource, but she can't do everything. Things have a way of falling apart when the ship pulls out. If the ombudsman is not there, the C.O.'s wife takes over. My telephone number goes on the ombudsman's answering machine, so I am next in line to call. It is not just the officers and the officers' wives the C.O.'s wife has to worry about. I think she has to do a lot to make them feel comfortable. The C.O.'s wife and the ombudsman are the first to get information from the ship. The ombudsman will put the information on her answering machine. But the officers' wives will call me if I haven't called them already. I spend a lot of time on the phone when the ship is out. Our ship is so small that if the weather is bad they might have to put into another port. I remember so and so didn't call his wife. She thought he was in the hospital and hadn't left with the ship, and so I had to say something when my husband called me on

a personal basis. He calls me every day when he can, so that's another expense....Sometimes...she would say, "When you talk to your husband say this family is this, or that." I would have to relay this information.

Managing Morale During Sea Duty

Chris found that during the command tour, she had to put her personal life on hold. As the stateside representative of her husband, her family came second to command welfare. Chris represented her husband in several crises situations.

Some of the things I did because Bob was C.O. when they were deployed. If someone was in the hospital I would go and spend hours waiting for operations or babies. The wife of an enlisted man was hospitalized. There was an enlisted wife's mother. I spent the night with her. Another time it was a girl's father...trying to keep them company, get their mind off, distract them. People had babies. I was happy to do it. Happy to support, but found it rather tedious leaving my kids all hours of the night, on Saturdays, when I'd rather go to the beach. A couple of times I had their kids stay here with me while they stayed at the hospital. I did all I could to remain sane.

Senior officers' wives give a lot of emotional support to the families in their husband's command. Dorothy's pilot husband is in the selection zone for Commander and squadron command. Perhaps it is thoughts of her future that make her so perceptive.

I think there is a legitimate need for what she [C.O.'s wife] does. She provides a legitimate service. She's not trumping up work. It is there. For the morale. The squadron is like a high school football team. The sense of, "We are all on the same team, go get 'em." If there is a crash who is the first person they are going to call to go out with the chaplain? It is the C.O.'s or X.O.'s wife.

She certainly never promised to deliver bad news in her marriage vows.

Junior officers' wives are aware of the emotional support supplied by their C.O. wife. The concern showed by the senior wives can result in support for the Navy by young wives. This lieutenant's wife was filled with admiration when she talked about her squadron's C.O.'s and X.O.'s wives.

She [C.O. 's wife] makes sure that we always get together, at least once a week. Whether we go to the movies or out to eat, she keeps us going, and keeps us informed about the mail. She says, "At least know your husband loves you." The C.O.'s and X.O.'s wives helped each other out a lot. We had a lot of young wives. At least four of us that were new and on our first cruise. They wanted to be sure we could handle it O.K. They really helped us out a lot.

Commanding officers' wives work very hard on keeping up the moral of wives during deployments. Kay has put in a year as a C.O.'s wife. She wants the wives to know that their efforts for the Navy are appreciated.

I do a lot to support my husband in his job, to help out the families, the wives and the kids specifically to better adjust to the Navy. During the deployment just to keep morale up. That's been my role in the past six to eight months. Getting wives' groups going, meetings, so that they can get information on the ship, so that they can socialize, come and meet others in the same situation. I take care of the logistics of that and logistics so that they can come to the meetings...doing things to make them feel better, like pool parties for them, and Halloween parties for the kids, Christmas parties. I've done it to show appreciation of the people who are hard workers. I've done a lot to get my husband to show appreciation from the ship, like getting letters of appreciation and plaques. So more or less, I'm boosting their ego. Wives in the Navy don't get much credit for what they do.

There is an economic burden to command. Husbands and wives are not reimbursed for the monies they spend on entertainment or morale-boosting items. In addition to the expense, sometimes the commanding officer's wife of a smaller ship finds she is her only resource.

Often times I don't even bother asking the wives to do something because two work and two have small children. I just do it myself. I also don't like to ask them for contributions, so usually I absorb that cost, too. I paid for the Christmas decorations for the O' Club [officers' club]. Each command was responsible for a wreath.

In addition to the Christmas wreath, this wife also made stockings for the children in the command.

The cost for 88 stockings was probably \$50.00. It was a lot less expensive than purchasing them outright. I also baked for DESRON 12, and the sister ship, the Illusive. There were costs involved in the ornaments I made for the families as small gifts. They were small brooms with bells, dried flowers, and ribbons. Then my husband ordered golf tees with the ship's name on them. There are probably other things I haven't thought of.

The stress of deployments can affect interpersonal relations of Navy wives working together. Maureen's husband commands a guided missile cruiser which is on a six month deployment.

I do manage conflict. My two ombudsmen were not getting along. I said, "Look you may not like each other, but you have to work together. Your attitude toward each other reflects on the others."

Socializing Navy Wives

There is no formal socialization process for Navy wives. Senior officers' wives serve a major function for this process

by acting as role models. Young wives, such as Ellen, follow their behavior.

She [the C.O.'s wife] has years of experience, that's what we are drawing off of, especially when the guys are away. She was telling us this was her sixth deployment, and she's still alive, and she is cute, healthy and has children. She was like our role model. If she wasn't involved there would have been no one for us to look up to. He is out there handling our husbands. They communicated with each other. I know there were times when the C.O.'s wife would write to her husband and say, "You know we haven't gotten mail in a few weeks. The girls are getting kind of depressed. Be sure those guys write them." They were working together, husband and wife.

Brokering Information

The commanding officer's wife of a deployed unit puts a lot of time and effort into gathering and disseminating information. In this task she usually works closely with the ombudsman. The senior officer wife gathers her information from several sources. Phone calls and letters supply most of the information. She also gets information from official Navy sources, other senior wives, Naval officer friends, and the ombudsman.

A helicopter squadron commander's wife is her husband's liaison between the families.

When he is at sea, I act as his spokesman here. He quite often sends back a message for somebody or for something, and [asks me] to get back to him. I, in turn, pass on information from here to him. If a wife is ill, or has moved, or changed phone numbers, that type. Just to be there, to be a friend and to listen, so often he needs to get things off his chest and he knows I won't talk.

Susan keeps her Captain husband updated on family problems when the ship is deployed. They work together as a team, he at sea, she at home. At times she becomes his official representative.

When Gary calls me from overseas, for example, if he's aware of a problem with a service member that involves his family, he'll make sure that we spend some time talking about that on the phone. I'll either update the ombudsman, or I'll get back to her and see if she has information that could be helpful. We compare notes in situations that we are aware of where problems have come up. That's probably the biggest thing I do. We've had a lot of the middle-of-the-night phone calls, people needing emergency surgery or notification of automobile accident, just all kinds of things that come up. Generally I'll make sure the family has the ombudsman's phone number, or if it's somebody calling to get a message out I'll connect with somebody at the DESRON and say "All right how about if I call the duty officer. We'll see about getting a message out." We have a point of contact at Desron 8. I feel real comfortable talking to that man on the phone, where...some of the families won't feel comfortable talking to him. So I'll offer to call on their behalf.

Ruth is both a commanding officer's wife, and a Naval Reserve Officer. Her job when on naval duty is with the merchant shipping sector. Her C.O.'s wife job is with the families.

As a C.O.'s wife I am most directly helpful to the Navy in getting timely information to the ship on family problems. I worked with the ombudsman. She did a lot of initial contact with the person who had the problems, but then she called me. The last time they went out to sea I was on my active duty. I had to go out to the WING to put a personal (message) out to my husband to notify him that he had an infant death, and a wife who'd been raped. I feel like it was important information that had to be handled in a very delicate manner. In one case [the rape], the wife did not want the husband to know. So how do you get the husband home without

somebody else telling him that? The rape happened four days before I even knew about it. I tried to keep a support network going as far as the wives' club goes.

Junior officers' wives acknowledge the C.O.'s wife's efforts to obtain and pass on information. Ellen was pregnant when her Lieutenant husband was deployed.

The C.O.'s wife shares the information that she gets. I don't think we can get the same information. I don't know if it's her responsibility or not. But she keeps our mind at ease. When my husband was over there, things were pretty tense. They were out to sea for at least 110 days. They didn't get off the boat at all. We were all worried.

A helicopter commander's wife communicated with the squadron wives not only to pass on information, but to give emotional support, and to control rumors.

Sometimes when there were no messages you realize its time to have contact, just to let everyone know we still cared. Let them know when their husbands are coming home, about the rumors they hear.

Rumor control is a big part of managing information during deployments. When the men are deployed, communication can be unclear or confused. Kay found the five month deployment of her husband's helicopter squadron was creating such problems. Part of what she did was to try to control the rumors.

Careers could be hampered by gossip. Unfortunately, sometimes people will start spreading rumors about someone bringing home information. That just snowballs. That can actually get back to the man, the squadron, or the superiors. He can be verbally

reprimanded, Masted². It's the same. What happens over there stays over there. We usually just talk it through and say, "That's just a rumor." If it's something that's viable that I can check on without stepping on toes, then I check on it and get back to the person. We had an incident. Some husband apparently kissed a waitress, and you know that went down through the grapevine. I called about it. I ended up writing Brad about it. I said, "They are taking it out of context. They don't know the particulars." Everyone was wondering, "Is this my husband?"...I told him, "You know that I'm not one that condones fooling around, but you know it has gotten back and maybe it's time for a father-son talk. You need to explain to the guys that when they write little things like this, it just causes an undercurrent, and it builds and builds." Then I got a call from a wife who had talked to her husband, and apparently Brad had lit into them at an AOM (All Officers Meeting).

Responsibilities in Wartime

Desert Storm, the Middle-East war in 1991, created some new responsibilities for senior officers' wives, and increased their normal tasks. War meant casualties. Next-of-kin forms had to be filled out or updated. Senior officers' wives found they were plugged into the system, whether they wished to be or not.

In the early stages of Desert Storm, a meeting was held for senior officers' wives of aviation squadrons in the Jacksonville area. Navy officials did not know their commanding officers had left survival forms with their wives. The wives did not know what to do with them. The wives were also were confused as to what their role would be in case of

² Non-judicial punishment administered by the commanding officer.

casualties. Debbie, the wife of a helicopter squadron C.O. stationed aboard the America, vented her frustration.

All of us are thinking of CAO³ calls. The emergency forms are at the skippers' houses. At NAS they didn't know we had the forms. I told the Chief of Staff, "Tell us what to do so we can tell the wives what you want us to do. If you cannot use the emergency forms, look into them. How much else is there we are not aware of?"

The confusion was never totally resolved. It was left to the wives whether they wanted to accompany the CAO team on the initial visit. Local administration regulations came into play. At Cecil Field, the home base of the jet squadrons, the wing, CLAW 1, kept the forms. At NAS Jacksonville, where the helicopter squadrons are based, the C.O.'s wives had the forms.

Commanding officers' wives found that filling out and collecting next-of-kin forms, which are called page 2, created emotional stress on them and the command wives. Dee's husband's squadron was deployed in the Persian Gulf. Mail delivery was erratic, and the wives had no clear idea where the husbands were or what they were doing.

I had a case tonight. This lady called, crying for ten minutes. It turned out to be page 2. She thought he was dead. I need this information. It took me 30 minutes to calm her down and explain it all to her.

³ CAO - Casualty Assistance Officer. This is the Navy team that pays the initial call on the wife of a casualty and assists her through the funeral and paper work for her benefits.

Debbie was at a wives' information meeting on January 16th. Her parents, who live in the same town, were baby-sitting. When she went to pick up the children...

My father said, "Its started". All I wanted to do was to get home. I felt I was in a daze the first half hour. I was so numb. I called Ann, the X.O.'s wife. She felt we had to get on with this. All I wanted to do was sit in front of the T.V. It was difficult to bath both my children. I didn't tell anything to my children that night. Ann and I split the phone tree. We called the wives after the President talked. They were doing O.K. Most of them were with someone else, a friend or relative.

During Desert Storm, the wives created interesting information networks. The Commander of the Air Group (CAG) on a carrier that was part of the Desert Storm naval task force called his wife by cellular phone. CAG's wife called the commanding officers' wives in the air group from her home in Norfolk, Virginia. These calls were made at her own expense. Officers' wives are not reimbursed for miles traveled, stamps, or calls; even if dealing with Navy business. Debbie, one of the C.O.'s wives, put the message out on her phone tree. She also called a Cecil Field jet squadron's C.O.'s wife to see if she had received the message. It was succinct: "Just started flying, morale high."

The war created a fertile situation for rumors. C.O.'s wives got calls from their wives, and wives from other squadrons. Dee talked about real and rumor news.

The ombudsman called with a message from the ship dated January 19th. "Ship on station. Sorry we can not say where we are going." The day before,

an F18 pilot's wife had called and said the ship was in the Persian Gulf.

Wives with husbands on sea duty identified 29 tasks or responsibilities (Table 4.3, Figure 4.1) Here again, the number of tasks performed, and the type of task depends on her husband's rank and position. The most tasks (29) were performed by commanding officers' and executive officers' wives. The least amount of responsibility fell to junior officers' wives. As with shore duty, ombudsmen came closest in responsibilities to the C.O.'s and X.O.'s wives.

There is an obvious difference between what sea duty wives recognize as tasks compared to what shore duty wives identify. Figure 4.1 shows that the task differences occur mainly with C.O.'s wives, X.O.'s wives, and Ombudsmen.

When Senior Wives are Absent

Not all senior officers are married, and some that are have wives that do not participate in the organization. While the Navy maintains that wives have no official position in the system, absent wives can be problematic for the organization.

A commander's wife speculated on who could fill the void and what the lack of a senior wife would mean.

I don't have any proof, but the absence of a C.O.'s wife would impact on moral. I don't think there would be as much ship spirit. I don't think the [Navy] families would be as satisfied. They like to see the families active in the community. I think it comforts them. If that were absent, it would impact negatively. Other than department-head wives getting together as a group, I don't know. I don't

think the ombudsman can do it. In the unusual circumstance the C.O. is very people oriented, he could do some of that, but only to a small degree. That makes it harder on the families.

A helicopter squadron commander's wife talked about one squadron she remembers that did not have a C.O.'s wife.

Although the Navy does not include a wife along with the sea bag, let's face it, they are there and it's something. They need to have some sensitivity to deal with families. I don't know...if they [C.O.s] were not married if they would have that sensitivity. The air wing had a commanding officer who did not have a wife. It was extremely hard for the squadron. He didn't understand why they had to have a wives' club or needed information. He would not release information. He would not give support to their functions. He didn't understand why they needed information on the air lifts. I don't believe he ever married. He didn't know how to relate to the women and their problems. Unfortunately they had a suicide in the squadron. I felt that he contributed to it.

Senior officers' wives bring a perspective to their husbands' views on command families. CO's without wives can not manage problems at home when they are at sea. Ruth wonders how a man without a wife would handle this situation.

First of all the C.O. without a wife is going to have a different perspective, his perspective in dealing with the family as a whole, because he cannot separate the man working for him from his family. You cannot leave that element out of it.

Ellen believes the wife is a valuable resource for a commanding officer.

I didn't have to move here. I could have stayed in Washington and ignored the whole thing. It may have made his job a little more difficult because he wouldn't be in touch with the way his commanding is affecting families. It's not the number one for C.O.s It may not be number five. I help him command more effectively. He can get a feel for when his troops will be behind him, and when they

won't be, how his dictates are going over, and when they aren't, with his peers and with his other C.O.s. [And]..his social set up here in Mayport. I give him feedback and also help the families. A wife basically gives her husband feedback and whatever other things she would pick up that he is too narrowly focused to see.

Chris, a Navy wife of eighteen years believes the absence of a commanding officer's wife can make a difference.

I think it hurts the Navy as far as retention and how people feel about the Navy as a career. I just think back about all the deployments we met. If I hadn't had that group of friends who were in the same situation as an outlet, someone to go to dinner with, meetings, social events, I'm not sure I would have made it this long. I'm not sure I would have been able to get Rich to get out of the Navy, nor would I have that right. I may have just stuck my feet in the ground and said, "All right, if you want to, go on, but I've had it."

Wives agree that a commanding officer without a wife can be a top professional performer. However, Martha's concerns were centered on the families of the ship's crew.

I think if you did some real deep looking into the morale of the ship and the family morale of the ship, if that C.O.'s wife isn't there, it's going to take a pretty exceptional man to recognize that he has to find someone to fill that gap.

Most wives believe someone will pick up the responsibility. They see the role following down the chain of command. Usually its the executive officer's wife who takes on the job.

The first sea going squadron we were in there was no C.O.'s wife. The C.O.'s wife had left him, no divorce, but she had left. The X.O.'s wife was terrific. That was the closest knit group. In fact the people I met then are still my closest friends. She was an extraordinary person because she just jumped in and took on the role of the C.O's wife.

Marcia, a captain's wife, believes the military structure dictates what wife can assume what roles. Here again, the positions of the wives are shadows of their husbands.

I've seen squadrons where that's happened and usually the X.O.'s wife takes over and gets somebody else to help out. There is too much responsibility and too much that goes on. I don't think the young wives really understand it. A chief's wife could do it with the enlisted people. But she cannot step into it with the officers' wives. It doesn't work. It doesn't work when you put the two wives' clubs together. I think there is the insecurity in the enlisted wives and insecurity on the officers' wives part. Insecurity comes from the ranks and rates, the military structure.

It is unusual for there to be neither a C.O.'s wife nor an X.O.'s wife. Roberta, the wife of a lieutenant, did experience such a situation on the last ship her husband was assigned to.

We had a senior Lieutenant's wife that tried to fill in when she could, so everyone knew that if you wanted something to get out, tell her and she kind of passed it through. There was definitely something lacking.

Maureen believes that total non-participation of a commanding officer's wife is unlikely. She believes the strong influence of the Navy officer's job on the family automatically involves the wife.

I can't see someone as a C.O.'s wife who is not involved in some way, because when the ship is gone, she's the person they will call. I see if that comes about, there is going to be a breakdown, and it will fall on people with less experience. But somebody will pick up the role. I think there are backup systems for it. I don't see any woman whose husband goes to sea saying, "I don't want any involvement at all." You don't have a choice. By virtue of your husband's job you do become involved. I can't see someone calling and saying, "The ship

will be in tomorrow.", and her not calling at least one person. Wives are the most essential part of the Navy as long as there are marriages. I think they are more important when they are on sea duty. Personally, I have found that...When he is on shore duty there is less camaraderie than sea duty because Jack is home all the time.

Sometimes a C.O.'s wife is present but prefers not take on the responsibilities. Elaine faced such a situation when her husband was a division officer aboard ship. It produced some very strong negative feelings.

When we did have a CO's wife, she dumped everything. There was no X.O.'s wife. The wives, we felt like we were just there. We did not have any kind of network to find out things. If she didn't care, how were we supposed to know what was going on? If the ship was deployed, unless you had a good network it just left you hanging. Information goes down the hierarchy. If there is a missing link it just doesn't get down. That breeds resentment. The one C.O.'s wife that didn't care, we were ready to kill her before the deployment was over. If the wives are unhappy, the husbands are unhappy, especially on deployment. If the wives are unhappy they are going to blame two people, the skipper [C.O.] and his wife.

Interpersonal Relations

The Navy does not offer skill training for commanding officers' and executive officers' wives. Although there is no formalized training program for these wives, Family Service Centers occasionally offer workshops. Usually the senior wives present their own C.O./X.O. wives forum (Brown, 1982).

First time commanding officers' wives are thrown into situations that would challenge the skills of professionals. Mishandled interpersonal relations can result in a break-down

of the system when it is most needed. Such an incident occurred during Desert Storm at a meeting for wives held by the Wing Commodore. Wives sat together in squadron groups, officers' wives, enlisted wives, their CO's and XO's wives. One squadron did not have either their C.O.'s wife or X.O.'s wife present. A C.O.'s wife from another squadron recalls the incident.

The enlisted wives (of that squadron) read a note to the Commodore....They complained that their C.O.'s and X.O.'s wives did not want them to have a club. They had abandoned them. They didn't have counselors or support groups for children. [They said], "She (the C.O.'s wife) didn't care about them. At the Change of Command [for that squadron] the officers' wives felt the same way. The C.O.'s wife rarely goes to anything. The Commodore's wife spoke to her, but now she doesn't know how to go about it. The wives were upset. They said they didn't get information from the ombudsman.

The commanding officer's wife referred to was an informant and some of her reports shed additional light on the problem that stemmed from difficulties with ombudsmen.

The officers' wives call me or the X.O.'s wife. The Ombudsman is a full time student and is hard to get hold of. Some enlisted wives call. I had to rearrange the ombudsmen. One had a miscarriage and could not handle the job. Another resign at the Change of Command. She left with hard feelings.

Dorothy thinks forcing wives to participate may not be the solution. She doesn't believe that wives' interpersonal relations affect the husbands' work environment.

It's probably better to have no C.O./X.O.'s wife than a bad one. I have seen a C.O.'s wife coming in who doesn't do wives' clubs, who was made to do wives' clubs. It would have been better if they had said fine, and left her alone. I say it is

more important to have the C.O.'s wife than the X.O.'s wife if you have to do with one. I have watched some pretty nasty wives club type conflicts going on in squadrons. And, try as I might, I never saw that trickle into the office or work place with the husbands. At least the officers have behaved very professionally.

Pat remembers a nasty situation when the squadron commanding officer's wife and executive officer's wife did not get along.

It split the squadron in half. It's horrible. I know it's happened several times. It absolutely impacts on retention. People left the squadron and volunteered to go to sea.

Why Navy Wives Perform Organization Tasks

Many of the senior wives mentioned being tired or burnt out. A few of the wives interviewed were close to tears. Most felt their nerves were stretched to breaking. Deployment time is particularly difficult on the wives. Many mention that problems seem to wait until the husbands are gone. One wife reported a series of frustrating events.

My husband is on deployment. My one and half year old swallowed a nail. I had to wait 24 hours before they decided to operate. Saturday, my daughter went into a severe asthma attack. My child with the nail fell and split her head. My mother is in a wheelchair because of medicine. And my husband called from his deployment and wanted to know, "What's new?"

The organization demands put on senior officers' wives produce additional stress. An admiral's wife talked about the personal strain.

It's lonely. There are a lot of people watching you, and I'm not always mindful of that. You have to know yourself pretty well. If you're in this position and trying to be something you are not, it's not going to work for you. When you get into the senior ranks, things become more political. It can be very hectic, fast paced. Keeping up physically can be difficult. It can be very demanding....The wife does not have any staff. You just need to draw on inner support. There are not many senior officers' wives who are not physically fit. I've seen alcoholism as a problem, and you're not going to see them go to the Family Service Centers, or going to medical and saying, "I have a problem."

The Navy maintains that wives are not required to do organization tasks, as Kay points out.

When I first got married, we went back to Japan. I was there a day. They had a C.O./X.O. wives' forum. I showed up at this meeting, and it was like Greek. The admiral used all these acronyms. They said, "You can be your own person, you can have your own career." That's the way it is now. It never used to be that way. You were expected to do certain things, have people in for coffee, entertain. But now that's not true. I think just from being in it, there's a hold over, and the old guard hasn't left. But, thinking has changed. Many have nothing to do with the ship, even some C.O.'s wives, so that X.O.'s wives have to take over the responsibilities.

Any assumption of these types of responsibilities is seen by the military as a voluntary action. That brings into question why wives perform organization responsibilities.

Support for Husbands

Some wives do not view their activities as working for the organization. They believe it is part of their marriage responsibilities. This is Kay's second marriage. Her first

was to a civilian. Her husband is commanding officer of a small ship out of Mayport, Florida.

My marriage is important to me. I want to put a lot of energy in that direction, although he's never said I have to do this or that. He would like me to do my own thing, although he realizes now how much I do and how important it is. Maybe it was everything that happened at Christmas, and how appreciative the guys were. We were talking about how much I did. He was complimenting me. I said I felt guilty about not working and bringing in some money. I do have a real active teenager now. I have to be on top of that right now. I think he sees us as a team. He never envisioned that as a single guy. When he was a single guy he worked night and day and thought that was enough. Now he sees he has some pluses.

A lieutenant's wife is active with the Navy to support her husband.

My husband is real happy doing what he is doing. When he's happy, I'm happy. I would like to see him succeed and go far.

The desire to help the husband to succeed is not limited to the junior officers' wives. This lieutenant commander's wife is pledged to support him in his quest.

My husband wants to succeed, and I want him to succeed, be at the top. I'm willing to do most anything that's good in order to do it.

Personal Achievement

Some wives assume organization responsibilities for their own personal fulfillment or achievement. Susan grew into the role and now is rather pleased with the way her life turned out.

I really like the life style. There was a time when I had a problem with it. I haven't always

been real enthusiastic or as supportive as I should have been. I've had times where it was really tough going and I thought why are we doing this? Why doesn't he get out? But in the back of my mind I always knew from day one that he really and truly loved what he's doing in the Navy. I knew that I was never going to say to him that its either me or the Navy. I would never give him that choice, or that kind of ultimatum. And after getting through some of the tough times, I really learned to like it.

The feeling of personal success is also shared by those senior wives whose husbands are in a command position.

I enjoy seeing myself successful at something that terrified me. I enjoy people, the contacts. I don't do it to help my husband's career. If I didn't do it, it may not hurt him. I feel I can share my husband's success. I feel I paid my dues by moving every few years. I paid my dues by being in the trenches during all those tough years. I've got prestige and power in the position I'm in now. I'm going to enjoy it because I earned it. I do it for the enjoyment and a little bit of the payoff. And, seeing him do the job a little bit better than he would have if I didn't participate at all.

Not all wives think they can influence the success of their husband by what they do.

I feel part of his career. That's my compensation. I'm human I probably will think what might I have done to help a little bit (if he fails). But...one percent out of a hundred, I contribute to his success, very little.

A commander's wife gives the Navy credit for rewarding the officer for his abilities, not the wife. Thoughts to the contrary bother her. She has a full-time job, is a commanding officer's wife, and is President of the base officers' wives' club.

No one says you have to do it. I don't necessarily have to be active. I think the Navy is smart enough to judge a man on his own ability. I resent having

my name mentioned in his fitness report. It has nothing to do with my husband's performance. Whether I'm cute or ugly, fat or skinny, entertain poorly or well, has no bearing on how my husband does his job. It has to be a team effort.

An executive officer's wife in a helicopter squadron felt that she had some impact on her husband's performance. However, she didn't think the organization considered wives efforts when evaluating the man.

I do it because it gives him more options in the Navy if everything runs smoothly. And part of everything running smoothly is me doing what I need to do. I don't think the wives get enough recognition. I don't feel that the guy writing his fitness report is aware or keeps it in his mind what I do.

Kathy questions in her own mind the effect a wife has on a man's career, but thinks she is helping her husband to be more efficient.

I feel bachelors can make it. It brings into question how much wives actually do toward furthering husbands' careers. You hear about so many divorces in the Navy, but then they always remarry. I feel like bachelors and divorced men would have the same chance if they are competent. I guess what I'm doing for my husband's career is to ease the silly family type things that he might run into. So, hopefully I'm making it easier for him to attend to all the other stuff the Captain would see.

Elaine thinks her behavior has a direct reflection on how her husband is perceived.

I would consider that with all my time and effort, my husband benefits....I would think my husband, the way he is perceived on the ship is because I'm doing this. He is perceived on the ship as having his ducks in a row. He has told his wife things she needs to know, and she has taken it from there. I definitely see us as a team.

Summary

There is little separation between the private life of the naval officer's wife and her husband's profession. Elements of the profession create her lifestyle. Her husband's frequent geographic moves, his long at-sea periods, and the responsibilities of his rank envelope her. Wives, in turn, impact on the organization structure. Dissatisfied wives influence Navy retention. Wives who cannot manage on deployments put demands on husbands that affect their performance and their career success.

Because of the hazards of the military profession, the emotional stability of service personnel is critical. Wives are encouraged to exhibit a positive attitude about their lifestyle and to be supportive and understanding of their husband's professional requirements. They are also expected to be supportive of other Navy wives, to help create and maintain group cohesiveness. Often the support extends to the community in the form of volunteer work that benefits Navy families.

The most demanding Navy responsibilities come to the wife when her husband is a senior officer. When he advances in the system, she is pulled along like a shadow. As the wife of the commanding officer or the executive officer, she acquires command responsibilities. She has referent and real power based on her husband's power. Her organizational responsibilities are rooted in this power. Because of her

husband's rank and position, she can solve problems and make things happen.

When the command is deployed, the senior wife becomes the command contact for the families. Their welfare and morale are her concern. She is expected to manage and monitor these facets of Navy family life. She is regarded as a role model by the younger wives, and as a pillar of support by everyone.

Her most demanding role, especially during deployments, is to broker information from the command to family members, and from family members to the command. She works long distance with her husband, and locally, with Navy sources and with the ombudsman. She controls rumors and supplies critical deployment information to the families. She keeps her husband updated on the status of his command families, supplying him with information that might impact on the performance of his personnel.

When her husband has a shore duty command, the wife's role takes on more of what are considered traditional Navy wife activities. She devotes more of her time to the social aspects of partnering her husband and hosting events. She is more focused on her personal family, rather than the corporate family. While she supplies emotional support to her husband and children, she is also concerned with other Navy wives. Since shore duty commands usually come to officers after their sea duty commands, a wife's first experience is with the more

demanding role. This is at the unit command level of aviation squadrons and ships. These are deploying commands.

The lieutenant commander's wife or the commander's wife whose husband is C.O. is in close contact with command families at their most vulnerable time. The more experienced captains' and admirals' wives find that less is required of them. It is the lieutenant commander's and commanders' wives who are in the trenches.

What effect the commanding officer's wife might have on the command is most noticeable when she is absent. Without the commanding officer's or executive officer's wives, information of importance to families is difficult to obtain. Wives become dissatisfied when they perceive the organization doesn't care about them. The dissatisfaction and unhappiness of the wives reach the husbands, impacting on their morale and performance.

A commanding officer without a wife loses touch with his command families. There is no one in a trust position to give him honest feedback and to supply a broader perspective on his command personnel decisions.

Fortunately, it is rare for both top officers in a command not to have wives. When one wife is not present, the other can perform the responsibilities. Ombudsmen, the wives of senior enlisted personnel, and department heads' wives can also handle certain tasks. They do not, however, have the power to manage all the problems. Nor are they allowed the

same accord and cooperation from the officers' wives and the wives of enlisted husbands.

How deep the officers' wives are embedded in the organization is revealed in their terminology. They refer to themselves, and are referred to by others, by the organization position of the husbands (e.g. enlisted wife, officer's wife, junior officer wife). They also refer to their husband's military events in the personal plural. Phrases such as "our tour of duty," "when we had command,, "our X.O." are frequently heard. They even mirror their husband's phrases by using the possessive when referring to others: "My skipper's wife," "My junior officer wives."

The officers' wives are very much a part of the Navy. The organization has placed responsibilities on them which escalate with their husband's rise in the system. Younger wives are expected to be supportive of their husband's organizational responsibilities. They are expected to offer emotional support to other Navy wives. Senior officers' wives are expected to monitor and manage the welfare and morale of command families, particularly during sea duty. For this they are given little training, no pay, and limited organizational support. They are unpaid functionaries in this large organizational system.

Wives perform their tasks because, by accepting certain responsibilities, they believe they make it easier for their husbands to do their jobs. Not many are willing to admit they

think this gives their husbands a competitive edge over the officer whose wife is not participating.

Despite their commitments to their husbands, many officers' wives are limiting their Navy activities by joining the labor force. The impact of work and other societal influences on Navy wives' responsibilities is the theme of the next chapter.

Table 4.2 Shore Duty Responsibilities Of Naval Officers' Wives

TASK	JO WIFE	SENIOR WIFE	CO\XO WIFE	OMB.*
Emotional support for husband	X	X	X	
Emotional support for other Navy wives	X	X	X	X
Advice and emotional support for CO\XO wives			X	
Supply resource information				X
Host command social functions			X	
Work with Ombudsman			X	
Socialization of Jr. wives		X	X	
Advise wives' clubs			X	
Find resources for command families				X
Manage conflict among wives			X	
Broker information			X	X
Link with official sources			X	X
Represent command at official functions			X	
Keep CO informed of family problems			X	X
Call on survivors of casualties			X	
Support Navy policies	X	X	X	X

*Ombudsmen can be the spouse of an officer or enlisted personnel, although most are enlisted men's wives.

Table 4.3 Sea Duty Responsibilities Of Naval Officers' Wives

TASK	JO WIFE	SENIOR WIFE	CO\XO WIFE	OMB.*
Support husband	X	X	X	X
Support other wives	X	X	X	X
Supply resource information			X	X
Host social functions			X	
Supply deployment information			X	X
Work with Ombudsmen			X	
Socialization of Junior wives		X	X	
Advise wives' clubs		X	X	
Find resources for families			X	X
Help with solutions to family problems			X	X
Plan social events			X	
Keep wives motivated			X	
Give direction to Support Group			X	
Send messages to command			X	X
Liaison between families and command			X	X
Manage conflict			X	
Broker information			X	X
Maintain contact with official sources			X	X
Nurture wives			X	
Socially represent command			X	
Keep up morale			X	
Monitor welfare and morale of families			X	
Inform CO of family problems			X	X
Control rumors			X	
Control Information flow			X	
Keep wives' addresses			X	
Maintain next-of-kin information			X	
Call on families of casualties			X	
Support Navy policies	X	X	X	X

*Ombudsmen

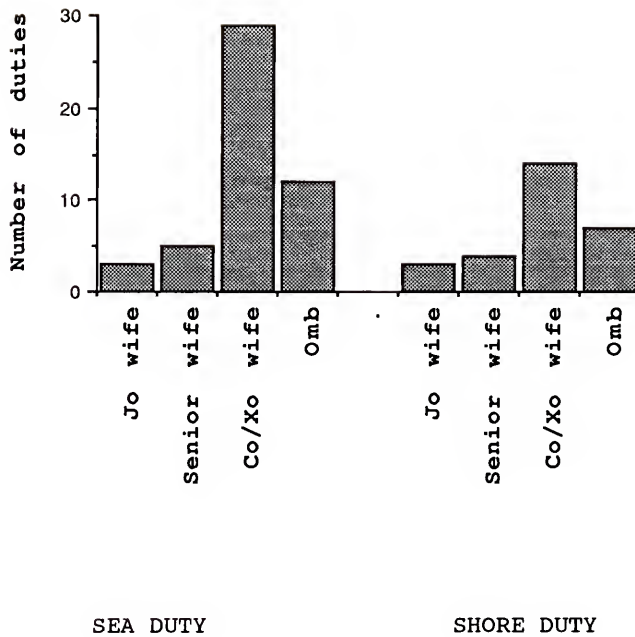


Figure 4.1 Comparison Of Officers' Wives Sea Duty And Shore Duty Responsibilities

CHAPTER 5
SOCIAL ISSUES AND THE ORGANIZATIONAL ROLES OF WIVES

A third of the wives maintain a civilian life, don't really care to get to know anyone in the squadron. Things go wrong, a death in the family, there just is not the support there. Also you see the sort that want to do their own thing and really don't care what their husbands do. You know, "I have my career. I'll come occasionally, but this is my thing and don't interfere." Some have said they do not want to move because of their careers.

Ruth

This chapter examines the impact of social issues on officers' wives roles and identifies compensatory Navy resources. The chapter leads off with a discussion of the changing behaviors of Navy officers' wives as viewed by senior wives. Then, the effects on the Navy of working officers' wives, geographic bachelors, divorced and remarried officers are examined. Lastly, Navy resources available to address these problems are discussed. Table 5.1 displays the social issues, their effects on the organization, and the available Navy resources.

Times Are Changing And So Are Navy Wives

In general, Navy officers' wives have the characteristics of American middle-class women (Long, 1984). They are well

educated; many have advanced degrees. Many wives have work experience before their marriage. Many have held professional jobs (Mazzaroppi, 1984). These demographics are influencing the officer's wife's role. Her behavior is more like that of her civilian peers than that of the traditional Navy officers' wife (Hayghe, 1986, Stone 1983, Segal 1988).

The changes in behaviors have not gone unnoticed by senior officers' wives. They describe the younger wives as more self-focused and bent on self-gratification.

An admiral's wife, the mother of grown daughters, labels this as the typical behavior of young women:

Women are changing from what they used to be. They are thinking of themselves more and more. "I'm going to do my things." I see this happening through the whole country.

If this is the normative behavior of a younger generation, then the Navy will be experiencing it more frequently.

During her husband's tour as C.O. of a helicopter squadron, Ruth was confronted with the self-centeredness of younger wives and the problems it breeds.

Many times it was a case of the husband being in the Navy when they got married. I don't know if any information would change their mind. It's a whole mind set of "me, myself and I." I had one wife who expected her husband to come home and drive her to Gainesville and Pensacola to see his mother who was having surgery. She didn't see why he needed to be on the ship. Mike [the C.O.] would take great pains, with the pre-deployment brief. A couple of times we had meetings at the squadron so that he could answer questions. They don't have a feel for the commitment they need to have.

Some wives believe the swing in the military to an occupational model has influenced the behaviors of wives. Ellen, a commander's wife, believes this value change will produce more problems in the future.

We've gotten as bad as the civilian community in that we don't trust our neighbors. Part of being in a cohesive wives' club is trusting. As many strides as we've made in convincing the military that wives and families do exist, whether you sanction them or not, they are there. We've also convinced the wives that they are not part of the system, and they need to stand out on their own. [We're going to have...] more problems than we have today. The problems are going to be worse. They are not going to have made that good friend, people in the command who can help them. I remember when I married into the Navy in 1982. Monday at noon time I had lunch with the C.O.'s wife. She had called me and invited me to lunch to welcome me to the boat and the Navy. That's not happening. The new C.O.'s wives are not inviting them to coffee, tea, whatever in an attempt to get to know them. Regardless of the fact that up until 10 years ago the Navy didn't want to admit that a man had a wife. There was a certain amount of security there. The wife knew that the C.O.'s wife was there, the chief's wife. They are also saying, "You can't pick me up and move me every two years. My career is as important as your career." I think retention is going to go down. Promotability is going to go down. Then the whole commitment to the service is going to go down because the families are not happy and men are not going to stay in because they are not happy. I think the FSC did some of that. They took some of the responsibility away from the C.O.'s wife, the X.O.'s wife, and the Command Master Chief's wife. Now the C.O.'s wives are saying, "Now you have the FSC. Because you have these programs that's where you should be going." I think the ombudsman program has added to it.

Phyllis points to the differences between the younger and the older Navy wives, and the implications for the future Navy. As the volunteer Ombudsman Chairperson of Kings Bay Submarine Base, she has a strong interest in the system.

A generation of Navy wives was raised and became adults who are into self-gratification. "I can do what I want to do and I don't have to do it because it helps my husband's career." Those who were raised before the mid-sixties may have careers, but we believe our place is with our husband, helping him in any way we can. On the officer level, on the enlisted level, wives are probably not more involved than civilian wives. All of a sudden they find themselves pushed into it, and find they have to learn everything they should have been learning in a very short period of time. Different C.O.'s wife in the next couple of years. She will be the career woman who will reluctantly do the social entertaining, who will reluctantly handle the role of C.O.'s wife, who will think if wives cannot get their act together it is not her problem. Perhaps the FSC will answer the need. I hope the system is strong enough to pick up and provide the resource the C.O.'s wife should provide. The ombudsman will always have that role of being a strong family resource person. Unfortunately, I can see some ombudsmen who are not dedicated to that principle. The C.O.s need to screen these wives more closely before they become ombudsman.

Wendy, a lieutenant's wife, points to changes in the structure of society as the reason for the change in women's behaviors.

Now with females having their own career they are a lot more assertive. To keep a happy home front and to keep everything going you have to have a lot more giving males. The Navy cannot give up their programs. They cannot hold back information. The female is the one that keeps the whole thing together. There used to be that old saying, "If you were supposed to have a wife it would have been issued with your sea bag." They've gotten rid of that. They had to, with the women's liberation movement. They've ruined it for a lot of us. I firmly believe we had it really good back there. Now so many doors are opened to women, they are confused.

Working Wives

One of the most significant changes in behavior is the number of officers' wives in the work force. Throughout all the Armed Forces 55% of the officer's wives are involved in some form of employment (Segal, 1988).

Reasons Officers' Wives Enter the Labor Force

Navy wives enter the labor market for the same reasons as civilian wives (Mallier & Rosser, 1987). They have a high work ethic and seek the gratification of accomplishment (Mazzaroppi, 1984). Some have economic goals, in particular mothers of college age children. Others join the labor force to gain a sense of independence from a lifestyle that is overshadowed by the husband's profession. Whatever their reasons, the behavior of Navy wives today is different from the past.

For over 25 years Marcia has been involved in her husband's Navy life and the organization. She now wants her own identity.

One reason I work is so I can get away from this and be my own self. It is one of the ways I can say, "I'm Marcia," and be myself.

A commanding officer's wife admits that, although working is a strain, it is something she needs to do for herself.

I burn the candle at both ends. I get personal satisfaction from working, personal identity. I am not an extension of my husband. I have needs. My needs are to actively pursue my career. I don't see my job as being any different than my role as

a Navy wife. I have made a commitment. I am flexible in my job. I work for a company that is real good.

Cheryl is the wife of a base executive officer, and a former squadron commanding officer's wife. She believes that work also gives wives an excuse not to participate in activities they do not enjoy. She refers to a "Navy life in the big era" when officers' wives spent their time in social events.

"I can't because I have a job," is a much more acceptable reason for saying, "No"....when we came into the Navy 20 years ago it was still the old Navy. It was still non-working women who supported their husbands. There was a role to play. You went to things. You supported your husband, you supported the Navy, your command. You decorated the club. The role of the military wife was much more prescribed than it is now. I think the need is still there. I think the things that Navy wives did over the years are still there. I don't think there are the women who are able to do it. Like Navy Relief, and the charitable things wives' clubs supported, the need is still there and has to be met in other ways. It's not fair to ask Navy wives to do these things. There was the big era wives, and you were expected to go to these things. They were fun. You wanted to go. Squadrons were bigger. It was a way to meet people. The guys were gone. And especially if you didn't have children you played with the other wives. I think if you had to point to one thing, it would be working wives. I think the value is that women realized that the services they were performing for Navy Relief and Red Cross were very valuable monetarily. Women realized they could do the same thing and contribute to the family income.

Kay is facing college expenses. She wonders if she can handle a full time job and the tasks of a CO's wife.

I spend a lot of time in the information, psychological and small favor department, just being a C.O.'s wife. But it will be really stressful when

I have to go back to work when Caitlan starts college, and I keep this up.

Finding Employment

Finding employment is not always easy for a Navy wife. Much depends on the location in which she lives. While living in Washington D.C. is expensive, it is also the best employment area for Navy wives. Other Navy base locations are not always so advantageous for the Navy wife who wants to work. Even if the general location is welcoming to Navy personnel, some employers prefer not to hire military wives because of their mobility.

Job skills are also a determinant of whether wives can find employment. Some careers such as teaching, nursing, and secretarial work are highly portable. Wives who are willing to accept jobs with lower level skills have an easier time finding employment. For others, particularly in the professional occupations, employers want candidates who are interested in building a career with their company.

Jessica was fortunate. When her husband was transferred to Jacksonville her company had an opening for an electrical engineer at the Kings Bay Submarine Base.

I chose a career. I made some changes in my job, requesting to be relocated to this area. I was very fortunate that there was a position open in my field. But if there is another move, it will be hard. The timing will be such that I will be ready to move. There's no guarantee with this company. Chances are we wouldn't move where Lockheed will be.

As a nurse, Maureen has no problem finding employment. She works for her own pleasure, but allows some wives do not have that luxury.

Today there is not the luxury for some wives to stay home; they have to work. Talking to other wives I hear it is very difficult for some military wives to find employment, particularly someone in a professional capacity. My career, I can take with me. In nursing I can find employment wherever I go.

Angela isn't as lucky with her career.

I'm a geology major and that is nothing you can find anywhere. If you were a teacher, you could do that pretty easily anywhere.

Even when they can find a job in their profession, wives may have to pay a financial and career penalty, as Kay illustrates.

One of our wives is a dietitian at Memorial Hospital. Every time she goes someplace she is the bottom person on the ladder, if she can get a job.

Debbie has already changed her profession once because of her husband's job requirements. She now substitutes at the local elementary school.

My background is in retailing. I've done that, and because he was going to be deployed and have night duty, I didn't want to work 72 hours a week in a mall that was open nights.

Judy has found jobs that have allowed her to meet her family and Navy wife commitments.

I have sold things, a lot of crafts, dolls, taught Stretch and Sew, worked as a secretary, done baby sitting. There's a lot you can do. Most people I know have not been successful except for teaching. You may not get retirement, but you can at least get in at the same level. I want to be an occupational

therapist. It's a good paying job. The types of jobs I want, I can pick my hours.

Sometimes the dual-earning couples must make choices between the husband's and the wife's careers. Washington D.C. offers excellent chances for the wife, but not always for the active duty husband.

Ruth's husband is a senior Commander facing new orders. She is well aware of the importance of career enhancing positions in the Navy. By the time an officer has reached the rank of commander, he or she knows what kind of future career is available. For someone facing a limited career, the option of having a wife with a successful career is very appealing.

I just saw a current C.O. take a dead end job so that his wife could go back to Washington where she has a plum job. There is something very wrong about that.

Not all employers are as willing to hire Navy wives as those in Washington.

As soon as they find out you're in the Navy, or military of any sort, unless it's Washington D.C., they hesitate on hiring. They tell you they can't hire you because you're only going to be here two years. They won't hire you at a higher level. They will hire you at the lower level, lower paying job, fewer benefits.

Judy sees some employers as being polite, but condescending in their treatment of Navy wives.

I think they treat them like a high school student, or someone out of high school, or someone who has no education. They treat you very nicely. But they pay you the same and give you the same job as someone out of high school. They are very aware you will be moving out on them.

There are some communities that are grateful for the labor pool of well educated, mature, and experienced Navy wives. Kings Bay, Georgia is such an area. This southern farm community is growing rapidly with the build-up of the Kings Bay Submarine Base. Phyllis's volunteer work with Navy Relief makes her aware of what's going on in the civilian community.

In this community Navy wives are going to be promoted faster because they have the education background. They have experiences that people born and raised here don't have. In other areas the wives are given the lowest paying jobs with low mobility, no chance of promotion.

Some employers, such as Chris', understand the demands placed on officers' wives.

My bosses are both ex-military and they are terrific. As far as seeing the importance of attending activities, they are great about giving me time off to attend change of commands. In teaching, I never felt like that. You are just a member of the faculty. The only time I ran into that was when Rich was a student at Pensacola. I applied for substitute teaching. As soon as they saw [Navy wife] on my application they told me, "No, we don't hire those transient Navy people." I felt like a second class citizen.

Angela's lieutenant husband was issued orders that were delayed at the last minute. The ambivalent position the Navy held him in had personal repercussions on Angela's work life.

I gave notice at work at least three times. Luckily they appreciated me. They said they would keep me as long as I could stay. We gave up our apartment and they rented it. Luckily, they were able to find another apartment for the renters. I resent the fact that I have to leave a job, or have a long distance marriage. I think it's awfully one sided.

Not all officers' wives want to join the labor force. Family responsibilities, as well as Navy obligations, keep them out. Chris left her job because of its impact on her children.

At first I stayed home because I was going to be home with my kids. Then, when they got older, I worked. I didn't like what I saw happening to their grades and their attitudes. So I opted not to work. I'm not sure his job has anything to do with it. Maybe I could have gotten a good part-time job. I'd like to, when they get older, but by then I'll have no skills and be too old.

Navy responsibilities and the efforts of being a supportive wife keep some women out of the labor market. Three wives comment on this. All three have husbands who were promoted to excellent jobs and rank advancements. Priscilla's husband was selected to work on the staff of the Secretary of the Navy. He was subsequently promoted to the rank of rear admiral.

My husband has had both aviation squadrons and a Naval Air Station command. I could not have worked and been as supportive as I was.

Dorothy's husband was recently promoted to commander and was selected as a commanding officer.

I have completely given up a career. It doesn't pay to go to work. I've put my life on hold for 20 years. Say, I'll catch up down the line. I've known C.O.'s wives who have quit the job for the one year their husband's have been C.O.s.

Effects of Working Wives on the System

Employed wives have limited time to commit to Navy responsibilities. Some adjustments have been made in wives

clubs and support groups to compensate for the working wives. Working wives have reduced the Navy's unpaid labor force. Aware that this resource was diminishing, the Navy established Family Service Centers and the ombudsman program. These programs were meant to fill the gap left by employed officers' wives.

During deployments the absence of the senior wife, or the inability to reach her in an emergency, can be a problem. The stress of deployment is exacerbated when family members believe they cannot get the support and information they need (Nice, 1983). Active senior officers' wives provide support for command families during these critical times.

Wives' clubs have undergone changes (Finegan, 1981). The base wives' clubs that represent all the commands on the base are having difficulty getting members. Officers' wives are choosing to give their time to their squadrons' and ships' wives groups. These unit clubs are adjusting their operating procedures to meet the demands of working wives.

The officers' wives' club of Chris's squadron has adopted a flexible schedule.

So far the meetings have been held on weekday nights. In previous squadrons we would have day meetings one month and evening meetings the next month. That would change [to Saturday meetings] during deployment. We couldn't do that when the husbands are home because the wives would not give up a Saturday with their husbands.

Kiki is the wife of a commanding officer of a guided missile frigate. Over the years she has noticed a change in

the participation of wives, the result she believes of working wives.

Wives are different than 10 years ago. More work, and are not as interested in meetings....I'm lucky. The work I do I can get a job anywhere I go. What the commander's and captain's wives strategy, at the last duty station, was to find their own work, they want to do something for themselves.

Wives no longer feel they owe their time and skills to the Navy. They are choosy about what they support. Cheryl, a senior officer's wife, notes the passing of the base wives' club at Naval Air Station Jacksonville with some misgiving and much understanding.

I never felt put upon by the Navy to do thus and so. I felt there were things I should do because my husband was in the Navy. Now I see so much resentment toward that organization by the C.O.'s wives. There is no customer for OWCI [Officers' Wives' Club of Jacksonville] now. Their Navy association is provided by the squadron. The one group that needs it is the wives whose husbands are attached to NAS Jacksonville and are shore based. Women who have full time jobs don't want to give up their nights. The amount of time women have to devote to wives' clubs is limited. The women whose husbands are C.O.'s and X.O.'s wives talk about the young wives in their group. They are impressed. They have full time jobs. Many of them do not have children. The J.O. wives choose to put their efforts into their own squadron. The squadron answers an immediate need. "My husband's going to be gone. These are the women I will be with." Those women are your family, your network. Those are the women you go to if you have a need or just for socialization.

Traditionally Navy officers' wives gave their time to volunteer groups. They served as Navy Relief and Red Cross Volunteers. They gave their time to base nurseries, libraries, and the chapels. Their absence is being felt.

Some facilities have had to pay help. Others have limited their operations. To augment their diminishing staff, some organizations, such as Navy Relief and Red Cross, are recruiting Navy retirees.

Kay, the wife of a helicopter commanding officer on deployment keeps busy with volunteer work. Like many mothers she helps out at school. Her most important volunteer responsibility is as the Red Cross Chairperson at Navy Air Station, Jacksonville.

Military wives have changed, especially officers' wives going to work. It's hard to get volunteer wives, like trying to get volunteer senior active duty officers' wives for the Red Cross. Of the senior officer's wives, only two who do not work.

The lack of volunteers is also lamented by a lieutenant's wife not in the labor force.

This is the way that it is going. These are career women. This is the way women's groups are going. We talked about this at Navy Relief, wives are not giving the volunteer hours.

The tasks of senior officers' wives are also being affected by working wives. Phyllis mentions the effect of absent commanding officers' wives.

I have been in commands where the C.O.'s wife has been very active and has kept the command together as a cohesive unit, [kept] the wives together. The last three C.O.'s wives had their own careers separate from their husband's. There isn't the cohesiveness, the feeling of friendship and family that there is in commands where wives feel they are really part of the Navy and part of the husband's career. When the wife is not terribly involved, a senior wife, a senior member of the command, the others soon lose interest in doing anything as a group. The [wives' club] support group falls apart. There no longer is that. I always go to the

coffees. I know the wives that go to the coffee. If I'm stuck or sick, I know someone will care enough to say, "Well let me take the kids so you can get some rest." There isn't that when someone from the command doesn't try to make it a cohesive unit.

Debbie chose to give up full time-employment so that she could support her husband in his Navy career. Her husband is completing his X.O. tour and is moving up to the commanding officer position in a helicopter squadron. Her friend, however, chose work over organizational participation.

We have a very good friend. His wife has always reported that she didn't like wives' clubs, and that she didn't do them. And she didn't. I think there is something about need. I like wives clubs. When we weren't around family, I needed their support. You need the strokes from someone. If you don't get them from work, or you don't have family around you get them from a support group. She [friend] didn't need that, she had a job. He is now ship's company and has been passed over for command. I think that was a prime factor in it. She didn't want to move, she wasn't willing for him to take the necessary jobs he needed to take. It made an impression on his career.

Cheryl predicts long term problems resulting in the changing roles of women. She is doubtful that the Navy's present organizational structure can manage these problems.

Wives have a role. We are our worst enemies in what we expect of ourselves: entertaining, being a gracious hostess, taking care of young wives, avoiding all bad things like saying, "You have to come to this and that." But, what happens if wives want to go to work and don't want to do these things? You won't have guys willing to go to sea unless they think the family at home will be taken care of. Almost 75% have families. You will not retain them unless the guy knows the family will be taken care of when he deploys. If there are problems at home they need to find out what is happening. You can not bring in some civilian monitor who has taken a course in human resources

and who says, "This is how you cope when husbands are gone."

Geographic Bachelors

Not all wives move when husbands get orders. The age of children can be a factor in the moving decision. Parents are particularly concerned about moving children during their high school years. If the parents feel the move will disrupt a child's education, the family will probably remain behind for the tour or part of it.

Working wives who are career tracking are also reluctant to give up their jobs and start over in the labor market. Some wives believe that structural changes will have to be made to compensate for these missing wives.

A commander's working wife believes that more wives will refuse to accompany their husbands.

They will find more of the split situation where the wife says, "I'm not going." I think I see a lot more of that as the Navy goes on, with the women you see coming in with the husbands now. Most of the officers' wives and some of the enlisted wives are professional people. They are teachers, attorneys, accountants. They are making more money than their husbands and moving doesn't mean a thing.

Chris articulates the hard decisions Navy wives have to make, decisions that impact on the lives of their children, their professional careers, and even on the continuance of their marriage.

Before, I taught. I had 10 years, gave it all up to go to Washington. The last time for one year.

I came back and could never get my teaching job back in my field. I had a hard time coming back. Things didn't fall back. I was resentful that I gave up my career for one year in Washington. He traveled the whole time, and I sat there by myself. I love my job. I see a lot of potential; things are picking up in the job. I've been asked to do some traveling. Things I always wanted in a job. Now I'm faced with the same thing of giving it up. Also my oldest son has been chosen to play with a special band. The older they get, the harder it gets to give it all up. I don't see how you don't go and keep your marriage. We've seen a lot of couples that don't go and don't make it. I just don't see after 3 years of sea duty,...he's been deployed a lot. How do you separate again for a year or two years and keep your family unit together? My family's my priority. I don't see how I have a choice. It's hard. I'm not sure I'll always go. If he's going somewhere where he'll be deployed on a ship and my kids are in high school, I'm not sure I would go. Now if you had asked me that two or three years ago, I would have said, "Sure I'll go."

The mobility of the Navy forces wives to make difficult decisions about their careers. An ensign's wife feels she must weigh family and her career.

I choose what I'm working in very wisely because of the mobility. When I do get into a job I make sure that whatever skills I have can be valuable to something else. I would stay if it was about 18 months [term of husband's assignment]. It would be a group decision between me and the girls. I might be in a position where I have a very good job, and that's another thing. He has a steady job for 20 years. I am always having to go for interviews to find a job. You have to consider a lot. The area, the school system.

Shirley is an experienced attorney, but for now she applies her skills and time to her volunteer work in the neighborhood community association. She knows of women who do not accompany their husbands to the next duty station. The

decision to stay behind does not always produce happy results.

A friend just got her real estate license and is cooking with that. I don't know how long that is going to last. She told me over the phone that she had gone to a wedding reception and had come home early. She said it was not fun. She didn't have anyone to dance with or talk to.

Some wives feel strongly about moving with their husbands. They either give up careers or rearrange their professional lives. Pat thinks a supportive, available senior wife is an asset to a husband's career.

We move so much it is hard for women to establish their careers. Fewer are moving. Commanders are moved due to command. People I know, 06's [captains] are moving. Their wives don't work. The 06 that is not going anywhere, those wives are working. People I know that are in contention [for promotion], movers, their wives don't work. Whether their husbands say, "Don't work I need my shot at it." It's got to be part of it, because why aren't they working?

The missing wife of the geographic bachelor can effect the system. Debbie allows that in some positions it has little effect, but when the man is a C.O. or X.O. she thinks it impacts on the information flow.

More and more we are seeing C.O./X.O.'s coming in, and their wives are not coming. Their wives have good careers, and they are staying where they were. They are not bringing them. The job that his wife would be doing is done by the next person in line, whether it's the X.O.'s wife, who is here in place, or one of the department heads, or the wives' club president, because those things have got to get done. There are underlying things that are part of the deploying squadron that somebody has got to do. I have a good friend who is a geographic bachelor. I think you can do well as a lieutenant commander. Guys can give dinner parties. But, when you become X.O., there are things that you really need to do, and especially as a C.O. There are phone calls that need to be taken care of when the guy is not here,

wives' clubs, ombudsman things. In an enlisted wives' group they call the ombudsman, but in an officers' wives' group they call the C.O. or X.O.'s wife. "My allotment check didn't come. What is the number for Cleveland?" My I.D. card expired." The husband's not here to answer that question. Some wife is going to get that question. The wife feels that she [the senior wife] is in that position and she should know. "She should be able to help me."

Susan is employed full-time at the Family Service Center. Her husband has received orders to Washington D. C., and she will accompany him. She thinks the problem of geographic bachelors is going to escalate due to working wives. She sees the future officer's wife as being less involved with the organization, more focused on her own personal needs.

I think there is a big change. Just in the last few years I've noticed that a lot more of the ensign, j.g. [lieutenant junior grade], lieutenants' wives work and have been working since they married. They have no intention of quitting just because this man is changing his duty station. I think for that reason there are a lot more geographic bachelors. There are a significant number of wives who choose to remain behind with their job rather than make that move. What I think is going to happen is by the time some of these J.O.s [junior officers] are X.O.'s and C.O.'s there are going to be a lot more geographic bachelors. I think there will be a lot more C.O.'s wives who are just going to pick up and follow the ship (to ports of call). They're going to have more money to work with. The whole financial picture I think has changed. Most of the women now are having their children later. They're working for a company for a number of years before they decide to have their family. A lot of them are choosing to continue working once they have their kids. They can afford to take these extended trips as they have people, maybe grandparents who can come and watch their children for them. That in fact is what some of them are doing. The brunt will fall on the ombudsman. In fact the larger ships have more than one ombudsman. That may be

¹ Location of the Navy's Finance Center.

what happens with some of the smaller ships. They may have to rely on two or three people sharing that job instead of just one. If it gets to the point where there is no C.O.'s wife and there is no X.O.'s wife I think they are going to have to end up having two or three ombudsman. I don't think one person is going to be willing to take on that kind of responsibility without getting some help.

Barbara, a rear admiral's wife, is also concerned about wives' responsibilities, and the impact absent wives have on retention.

No C.O.'s wife, no X.O.'s, who does it? I don't know, because I don't think you can dip down much further than senior lieutenant commander's wife and have the position maintain the status quo. But I see it happening right now. Jim's Flag Lieutenant, his aide, [his wife]...has already stated she is not leaving when he leaves. She has a wonderful job. She says she is not going to have any children. She won't raise them without a father.

Senior officers who are geographic bachelors create an organizational void in the communication chain between the wives and the command that is difficult to fill. When commands deploy, it helps the families left behind to have a senior officer's wife that understands their problems. A commanding officer's wife can make her husband more sensitive to family needs.

This commanding officer's wife remembers the effect a geographic bachelor had on his squadron.

This C.O. did not care about wives when guys came home from deployment. He told wives he owned husbands 24 hours a day. He had problems: bad retention, more sick calls, more suicide attempts than any other unit deployed on the ship. The guys got back from a six week deployment and he didn't encourage families to meet husbands. Made the

husbands stay the day. His wife didn't come down. She stayed in D.C. because of her job. The C.O. had more junior officers put in letters to get out. The way you handle matters for people now affects the way people feel about the Navy. It's a big family, it makes a difference when a guy comes up to reenlist.

Absence of a senior wife can sometimes influence more than just the local families. Her absence creates a void in communications between the organization, the families, and sometimes the public. This was brought home when the U.S.S. Stark was hit by an Iraqi missile in 1988. The commanding officer's wife was not in the home port area. Susan remembers the incident.

The time that the Stark incident took place the C.O.'s wife was not in the geographic area. She was in Norfolk, having just moved up there a couple of months prior to that incident. The X.O.'s wife was here. In fact [she was] living in base housing, and all of the responsibility of getting the word out to families, and so forth fell on her shoulders. I think in that instance there was a lot of miscommunication because the C.O.'s wife was in Norfolk. In fact, I remember being kind of glued to my television during that weekend, and I remember at one point seeing a press conference out of the C.O.'s wife's home in Norfolk. She was getting word from Washington, I would assume, from her husband through Washington. Then the X.O.'s wife was getting word. I mean it just seemed like there was a lot of confusion. She did not come down here to my knowledge through the entire crisis. For one reason or another she stayed in Norfolk the whole time. So the X.O.'s wife really had the load to carry here, and that was a big burden. In fact her husband had only been X.O. of that ship for about six or seven weeks at that point. This was a brand new job to her, and then to have this kind of crisis situation come about. She carried it off very well mind you, but I know it was really trying.

Divorce And Remarriages

Society's marriage patterns are being reflected in the Navy. The percent of divorced military men between the ages of 18 and 29 matches the civilian sector. However, the divorce rate for older men is lower than the civilian percentages. Military men over 24 have a higher percentage of remarriages than civilians (Long, 1984).

When some male officers remarry they choose women in the military. The 1978-79 Department of Defense survey showed that 9.9% of all military officers had spouses in the armed forces. Among Navy married personnel 2.5% have spouses in the military (Segal, 1988). There also are new wives of senior officers who know nothing about military life. The impact of these marital patterns is felt at the commanding officer level.

Wives stated that professional single or divorced men could succeed as well as married peers. However, they did not believe these men had the same sensitivity to family problems that a married C.O. would have. This lack, they believed, has a negative effect on the command unit.

Judy's husband is in a squadron that is commanded by a divorced officer. The void has been filled by an ombudsman. One of the reasons for the ombudsman program is to establish an official link between the command families and the commanding officer.

It really is a pain because there are many things that the commander's wife can help with to stabilize things. We now have a divorced man who is our C.O. The X.O.'s wife barely knows anyone. When you first come in as X.O. you barely know people. At times, during deployment, wives call the ombudsman. Usually you have the commander's wife that you can call. She plays a vital role. It's a big part of deployment. It helps keep people from getting upset about things. It helps the squadron a lot, especially with the enlisted because they don't have a very good support group for wives. The X.O.'s wife is a nice person, but she doesn't have the chance to know people. The ombudsman picks up things. This one is an officer's wife. She has made it her duty to do it. She is in contact with the C.O. once a week.

Although there has been a move away from institutional values and traditions (Moskos, 1988), the military is still a very conservative organization. Families are important. Commanding officers' wives present a family image to the other command wives. They also serve to sensitize the commanding officer to the needs, values, and feelings of command families. Ruth recalls the wives' reaction to a divorced skipper (C.O.), and how his behavior impacted on the wives and subsequently on the organization.

The skipper was divorced three times. His idea of a party is a wild affair. The wives don't want anything to do with it. When you're out there working around the clock, you can not think of other things. Primary thoughts are family. Guys who do not have families do not have these problems. It impacts on retention, performance. [Personnel reaction is]..."I don't care about this, I'm not going to stay in."

When officers marry someone also in the military the new wife brings into the marriage professional knowledge of the Navy. This knowledge enables her to act as a resource for

command families during deployments. Other times the wife has no knowledge of naval life, yet finds herself in a position of responsibility.

Navy Resources For Officers' Wives

Most of the rules applicable to the accepted behavior of officers' wives are unwritten. The wives learn behavioral norms mostly through observation, role modeling, and their husbands.

This is especially true of commanding officer's wives. In the past commanding officer's wives grew up in the system, marrying when their husbands were junior officers. Senior officers' wives in the institutional or traditional Navy socialized wives by role modeling and lectures. Today, marital patterns can produce a commanding officer with a wife who knows nothing about the organization, its systems, and the normative behaviors. The only wives' course sponsored by the Navy that addresses behaviors is for Flag (Admiral) officers' wives.

The Navy sends prospective commanding officers (PCO) through a course, but not their wives. Some Family Service Centers offer occasional C.O./X.O.'s wives' courses. These are not standardized and are usually designed and conducted by senior wives.

The importance of a commanding officer's wife understanding how the Navy operates and the normative

behaviors is illustrated by the experience of Lyndee. This lieutenant's wife was appointed ombudsman to compensate for a C.O.'s wife who did not understand organizational roles. The wife's lack of role knowledge, and appropriate behaviors created an uncomfortable situation for Lyndee.

We have had C.O.s that are as different as night and day. The first one was prior enlisted with a strong party attitude. When he married again, he married a stewardess....This one acted like she knew about deployment, but she didn't. The wives' club was very separated with a lot of animosity. Among the guys too. I was an ombudsman....It was really unusual to have an officer's ombudsman. The reason I was an ombudsman was because the officers' wives didn't feel comfortable calling the C.O.'s wife. Usually when the O's [officers' wives] have a problem they call the C.O.'s wife or the X.O.'s wife....It was spread around. The C.O.'s wife couldn't hold her tongue. She wasn't taking telephone calls from her husband....It impacted very much. We had a lot of problems with communications with the skipper.

Training for the C.O.'s Wife's Role

The lack of role knowledge is a concern of senior wives. Some C.O.'s wives, realizing the dearth of information on the roles of C.O.'s wives, give on-the-job training to their X.O.'s wife. Ruth was fortunate to have a commanding officer's wife who worked with her when her husband was X.O.

I sat down with my C.O.'s wife. I went with her to everything. When she had problems, I asked her how she handled them. When she left, I went to ombudsman training. I probably should have gone to the Navy Relief course. That would have been a good clue.

The motivation to learn the C.O.'s wife role is highest at the X.O.'s wife level. Unfortunately there isn't always a

C.O.'s wife to learn from. When a C.O.'s wife is not present, the other command wives turn to the X.O.'s wife for guidance and aid. Without training the X.O.'s wife is placed in a role she has little knowledge or experience to carry out. She finds herself in a precarious position. Her husband works for the commanding officer. It is the C.O. that writes her husband's professional evaluations. If her actions upset the C.O., that displeasure could be reflected in her husband's fitness report.

Wives might learn the C.O.'s wife's role by observing senior wives' behaviors. Part of the problem with this is that not all officers are selected for command. For a wife to presume that her husband will be selected is not acceptable behavior. It is only safe for a wife to openly show her interest after her husband has been selected for the position. This results in wives being unprepared to assume the role. Ellen remembers her feelings during her husband's early command days.

I felt very ill-prepared, and I was terrified. I wasn't prepared because I never counted on my husband achieving this. I was afraid to. You don't want to go along assuming he was going to achieve this. I wish I had paid more attention to senior wives when I was a junior [officers's] wife. I didn't.

Those who have experienced the C.O.'s wife's tour support the idea of some sort of training program. Dotti remembers a time when C.O./X.O.'s wives' workshops were offered.

I really feel very strongly [about training]. They use to have X.O./C.O.'s wives workshops. Now there

isn't one. You walk into it. You don't know what the heck you're doing. You may be able to figure it out. Basically you do what the C.O.'s wife suggests you do. I think it should be some of the first and some of the latter perhaps. But, it isn't. It isn't a paid position. You do it only if you want to. If they had good courses we [C.O./X.O.'s wives] would go to them. A good course to tell me before I walked into the job what I could expect, what kind of things I would run into, where my resources are, what makes a good X.O./C.O. [wives] working team. That sort of thing. Maybe later on as you experience a few things, you learn the skills. Some of the bomb shells should be covered.

Several commanding officers' wives think the Navy has resources that could help the C.O.'s wife. The Family Support Program and the ombudsman program are the two resources most frequently mentioned.

Family Support Program

The Navy Family Support Program was established in 1979 to provide Family Service Centers (FSCs) on Marine Corps and Naval Bases in the United States and overseas (Navy Family Ombudsman Manual, 1988). As of 1988 there were 70 FSCs. FSCs provide a variety of services designed to help maintain the well-being of the Navy family. Among the services offered are information and referral services on civilian and military resources, counseling, spouse employment assistance, and education programs. One of their strongest programs is the Family Advocacy Program that deals with child and spouse abuse. Other programs, the type of counseling offered, and the resource information available are dictated by the needs of the local Navy community.

Although FSCs were established to fill the needs of all Navy and Marine personnel, the common perception is that they are mainly for enlisted personnel and their families. Barbara supports this view.

They don't have that much to do with the officers. They are mostly dealing with enlisted people. I think there is not a need with officers as much. I never knew a single O (officer's) wife that has ever gone. The enlisted people use them all the time.

A lieutenant's wife was first introduced to the services of Family Service Centers in a pre-deployment briefing conducted for the squadron wives. Although she was impressed with their list of services, she believes they mostly serve enlisted personnel needs.

I was surprised at what they said, during the deployment brief, that they could do. I think my friends would use FSC as a last resort. It has a stigma that it is for the enlisted. It struck me that it was more for enlisted who are on a tight budget and have some problems. The officers would go to the other wives....I think they would exhaust all other sources.

Despite the common perception of FSC's being only for enlisted personnel, there are officers' wives who use their services. Chris thinks they have a lot to offer, She highly recommends their use by C.O./X.O.'s wives.

They gave us an overview of what FSC offers so you know where to go to get help. A psychologist spoke about the role of the C.O./X.O.'s wife. Stress management is another thing. I've utilized materials from Family Services. I would recommend my X.O.'s wife, or P.X.O.'s [Prospective Executive Officer] to utilize it. One of the best things is if the C.O./X.O.'s wife can go through the ombudsman program. It is one of the best training programs.

But, it's hard to devote that kind of time if you are working.

The Ombudsman Program

Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (1979) defines ombudsman as a public official who investigates complaints on the infringement of citizens' rights by government agencies. While the Navy took the term and the concept from the Swedish, the Navy ombudsman hardly resembles its origin. Exactly what Navy ombudsman do is difficult to understand. Case studies are difficult to obtain because of the code of confidentiality.

The Navy ombudsman program was established in 1970 (Navy Family Ombudsman Manual, 1988). The commanding officer appoints the ombudsman for his command. An ombudsman can be the spouse of either officer or enlisted personnel. The manual describes the ombudsman as a liaison between command families and the command. According to the manual, ombudsmen are to provide resource information to the families, and to regularly communicate with families. It is suggested that this communication take the form of newsletters and phone messages. The ombudsman program works in concert with FSC.

The stated duties of the ombudsman are vague. This results in some ombudsmen doing a lot more than providing information. An officer's wife, with a degree in psychology, tells what she did as an ombudsman.

The job states you are supposed to steer people in the right direction. I would get people who would call me and be totally frustrated, who didn't know what to do. Or, it was 7 A.M. and they couldn't get Navy Relief or the base chaplain. I found myself helping them to get through the day until they could get help. In one case a man was ill. He called his wife and said, "I'm coming home." She didn't know what to think. She needed emotional support. This wife had an aversion to the Navy. They only had one car. I wound up picking him up and taking him to [Naval Air Station] Jacksonville to check in. The skipper had a little bit of a problem with what I did. Basically he wanted me to refer services.

The ombudsman needs many skills. The abilities to organize, manage conflict, and communicate head the list. It is difficult for commanding officers to find volunteers with these abilities. Ombudsmen training courses are offered by Family Service Centers at the local bases. What goes into these courses and how they are conducted is at the discretion of the local FSC and the ombudsman chairperson.

A lieutenant's wife believes the ombudsman's role is poorly defined and there are some structural problems that need to be addressed.

I've been through ombudsman training, and even what they consider as the ombudsman's role is not what I see they really do: helping with emergency service contacts; "I need money; what do I do?" I need a friend type thing. But I see that as only enlisted. I've seen ombudsmen abuse power. I think they need to be better screened. The training does not go through personality. There are not a lot of people who have the time to do it, and we have to take whoever is willing to do it.

Cheryl, a Captain's wife knows the program has some problems, but believes if ombudsmen have certain characteristics they can be successful.

They need to be a good listener, they need to divorce themselves from the situation, and see that they don't get involved in it themselves. It's not an easy job, its a very difficult one. The women that do it well are mature, confident. They don't need the C.O. patting them on the head. They don't need to showboat themselves. The showboats are the ones that cause the problems and hurt the program.

It is the responsibility of the commanding officer to designate the command people that will interface with the ombudsman. The manual lists the following as possibilities for commanding officers: "XO, CMC (Command Master Chief), your or their spouses, chaplain." (Navy Family Ombudsman Manual, 1988:13). This sets the precedent for a work team of C.O.'s wife/ombudsman. In fact there is a section in the manual on the C.O./X.O. spouse and the ombudsman.

One reason C.O.s' wives' links are important is because officers' wives say they do not use ombudsmen.

The wife of a ship-based lieutenant tells why she hesitates to use an ombudsman, and who she does use.

I have been led somewhere to believe that officers' wives should not go through the ombudsman, but should go to the C.O.'s or X.O.'s wife. For a ship's schedule I would call an ombudsman. For a problem with so and so, or if the ship needs to know, I would go to the C.O.'s or X.O.'s wife. For a personal problem, probably no one related to the ship, probably a neighbor friend of equal rank, but not related politically.

Maureen does not think the ombudsman program is designed for officers' wives.

[Officer's wives]..tend to have their own network and they go to C.O.'s wives or X.O.'s or some friend on the ship, or off the ship. I also think their problems tend to be different from what an enlisted wife has.

Kay, a C.O.'s wife, has two ombudsmen in her husband's squadron.

Quite honestly, there are officers' wives' ombudsmen. Even Debbie [an officer's wife ombudsman] does not get a lot of calls from officers' wives. Officers' wives tend not to go to ombudsman. They tend to go to C.O./X.O. wives, or somebody in the squadron they feel comfortable with, a department head's wife. I've noticed that throughout the years. Now the E wives [enlisted], there are more of them and they don't know each other as well, so they tend to go to the ombudsman. Ombudsmen get a lot of calls. When our E ombudsman was out of town, Debbie did get a lot of enlisted calls. We have made a point, Brad did in letters, that there are no E or O ombudsman. They are ombudsmen.

Kay works with her husband's ombudsman when needed.

Sometimes she runs things by me, and gives me a scenario and says, "What do you think." A couple of times we have been called together, or they² have said it was O.K. to tell me. If it's risk to self or another person, confidentiality goes out the window in order to treat the situation.

Ellen worked with her husband's ship's ombudsman. She has high praise for the ombudsman.

I worked with one. We had the world's greatest ombudsman³ on the ship Bob was the X.O. of. There were lots of times when I would call Mary and say, "What's the phone number?," or "What's the deal on this?" or, "How do you do that?", just for little things. I never used her for the big things like how to contact the ship, or that business. I knew who to call. Once I needed to send a telegram, and I couldn't remember how to do it, so I called her. It was easy to call her. She always had all the answers. She was an exceptional person. She had been an Air Force nurse, and I think because she

²For confidentiality reasons ombudsman are not allowed to give names, or call the Commanding Officer's wife on a problem without the consent of the client.

³ This women became the naval station's ombudsmen chairperson.

had that background she had a good understanding of the military and how it works in the first place. She is very intelligent. Her husband is the Command Master Chief. She is probably one of the most organized people I have ever met in my life, extremely capable. I think that kind of ombudsman are few and far between.

Susan and her husband's ship's ombudsman were a team.

I've used our own ombudsman to say "Help, I got a phone call, can we get a message out?" I'll go ahead and let her make the call to the DESRON and get the message out, things like that.

During Desert Storm, the ombudsman for a helicopter squadron used Debbie as a resource.

If she has a problem she can not handle she waits. Then she calls me and tells me what is going on. It [the ombudsman program] is an overall success with enlisted wives who are hesitant to talk to O [officers'] wives, especially C.O.'s wives.

Ruth had an excellent relationship with her husband's ombudsman. Although they worked together, Ruth left the ombudsman to do her job and acted mostly as an advisor and supporter.

She helped deal with a lot of the problems. She would gather the information, look at solutions, call me, and we would talk about them. She would call the person back. I would try not to get involved. Sometimes I would have to call the women back. I tried to be a sounding board.

The relationship between the C.O.'s wife and the ombudsman can be problematic. One C.O.'s wife talked about some of the issues in the relationship.

In theory, the ombudsman program is an excellent concept. The ombudsman is a direct link to the command. When the ship is gone, she essentially is the person to contact, when someone is admitted to the hospital she can direct that wife to contact

the Red Cross. The problems arise I think when confidentiality becomes an issue. There are three reasons someone volunteers to be an ombudsman: Dedication, they want to improve the quality of Navy life...want to provide assistance, power hunger, they feel it will help their husband's career. There have been some very serious problems. The issue of confidentiality comes up. The ombudsman calls me, and I feel as the C.O.'s wife, I need to know what are the kinds of problems, if it is something that needs to be directed to the crew. I don't need to have names. Generally I see some weakness in the system. I see it from the DOD (Department of Defense) instruction. I see there being an elusive area of confidentiality. The ombudsman knows ultimately I'm the one that is going to take over. If I do not know history and problems, I don't know how to make calls. If a wife says she doesn't have money, I'll send her to Navy Relief. But if this is a continuing problem, I'll send her to Navy budget counseling. In the absence of the ombudsman I can give more appropriate advice. The first phone call I make is to the ombudsman to be sure she initiates the phone tree. I call the wardroom wives [officers' wives]. That has been a bone of contention. [the ombudsman] has to be someone from within the command, that is a dependent. They are appointed by the commanding officer. I think some of it [the problems] can be addressed through better training, some through better screening. You have to have someone. I think the ombudsman should be from a different ship, someone not involved in the dynamics. The ship provides all of her stationery. She is reimbursed out of pocket expense. When you have a good ombudsman, it makes it a lot easier. When you have a bad one, life is hell! People are calling the ombudsman, the ombudsman is calling the news media creating hate and discontent on the ship. And she is not getting the information out. I honestly feel that it's even more critical for deployers.

Cheryl thinks there are too many ill-defined areas in the program. Relationship between the C.O.'s wife and the ombudsman maybe poorly defined, but Cheryl does think they each have their own area of responsibility.

I think the ombudsman should handle the problem

if she has enough expertise and information. The theme is she doesn't need to call the C.O.'s wife. The C.O.'s wife finds out what it is rather than acting as a facilitator. Let the ombudsman handle the problem. That's the way it works unless there's a problem where you have to get other officers, such as the WING, involved. Normally they'll [ombudsmen] go to the C.O.'s wife because she knows people at the WING. The C.O.'s wife is a resource person for some of the other officers' groups like the WING. The ombudsman probably wouldn't feel comfortable calling the Wing. It's not clear cut. A lot of squadrons handle it differently. I think before the deployment happens, C.O., X.O., their wives and the ombudsman ought to have a talk on how they perceive and want this to work so everyone is in on how this will work. Everyone needs to know the chain.

Commanding officers are required to have a command ombudsman. Volunteers are difficult to find. Sometimes wives are appointed who for one reason or another are not the best for the job.

Kay's husband's ship is very small. By the number of personnel, he is limited in finding candidates for the job. Constraints such as abilities, number of candidates, and motivation can result in less than an ideal ombudsman.

The one we have now is 21. She has two children, one is four, the other is one. She is so young. A lot of people don't take to her as they would to an older person.

Even wives who seem to be excellent choices can turn into poor ombudsmen. Ruth was left with an ombudsman who created more problems than she solved during deployment.

One wife had been appointed assistant ombudsman. I was hesitant. As we got into dealing with problems, she seemed to be creating problems by spreading wrong information, talking. She was a very power hungry person. She did not like having to call me about a problem. She felt that as an assistant she had every right the ombudsman did to

send out messages. The only reason we had set her up as an assistant was to see if she could handle the problems.

How commanding officers' wives and ombudsmen are supposed to work together is never clearly articulated by the Navy. This can lead to conflict when the perceived territory of one or the other is invaded. Maureen had to deal with such a misunderstanding.

Unfortunately I see the ombudsman who wants to be the C.O. wife. I see the ombudsman who wants to have complete control over all the structures of the Navy. She cannot be responsible for meeting the social needs of the social group. That is up to the social chairman. There have been situations where ombudsmen are not happy, and they talk to this one and that one, and turn out to be a negative impact. I do not see the ombudsman problem as being a strong program. I see the C.O.'s have very few choices. You have to have somebody. There really needs to be somebody here. It drives him [the C.O.] crazy. What drives him crazy is the petty issues that come to him. The confidentiality drives him crazy. The ombudsman is not sharing information with me. I communicate with Jack more than the ombudsman does. He always calls the ombudsman before he calls me. Even though I don't agree with the program it is supported by the Navy, and I will support it. I don't think it's a system that really works effectively.

If commanding officers are in a foreign port and wish to communicate with their ombudsman, they must pay for the long distance call. Sometimes the C.O. is limited in the amount of time he has to make telephone calls. Kay's husband put it bluntly when he said: "If I have to spend a nickel to call someone, it's going to be my wife."

Summary

The all volunteer military has brought civilian behaviors and values into the Navy culture. The affects these behaviors have, and the resources the Navy has developed to compensate for the effects are shown in Table 5.1.

First of there is an increase in officers' wives in the labor force. Their reasons for seeking employment parallel those of civilian women. Some work for self-satisfaction and the sense of accomplishment. For others it is the economic concern of educating children that sends them into the labor force. Employment also gives wives an opportunity to establish a personal identity separate from their husband's.

Finding a job is not always easy for a military wife. Often the wives find themselves in jobs that do not pay for, or utilize, their skills. This is particularly difficult for women with professional careers. Because of the problems in finding suitable employment, some women do not want to move when their husbands have new orders.

The absence of working wives from organizational activities is causing changes. Officers' wives clubs are scheduling flexible meeting hours and new programs in an attempt to lure wives back to the clubs. Some clubs are forced to disband leaving wives without this source of social support.

Historically, volunteers from the officers' wives have been the backbone of many organizations. Today, there are

fewer of them doing volunteer work. Such organizations as the Red Cross and Navy Relief are having difficulty filling these volunteer staff positions.

Junior officers' wives who are absent from the organization due to employment are missing out on important socialization experiences. Husbands are reaching the commanding officer position with wives who are ill-prepared for the role. Without preparation, wives are facing interpersonal problems and a system that is foreign to them.

The lack of participating wives is strongly felt on the command level. Absent commanding officers' wives tasks are being performed by executive officers' wives. Although they are willing, many have fewer years of experience. Also they are being denied the most critical learning period, that of being able to observe the C.O.'s wife's behavior from the X.O.'s wife's position. The absence of the wives of both the commanding officer and the executive officer severs an important link between the commanding officer and the command families.

During deployments, commanding officers' wives represent their husbands at home. They manage and monitor the morale and welfare of command families. They are a trusted source of information for their husbands on matters that impact on performance and retention in the command.

The Navy, like the civilian sector, has a number of divorced or remarried men. The divorced officer is regarded

with suspicion by the wives. They believe he is insensitive to their concerns and problems. Certainly the commanding officer who is deployed loses a valuable and trustworthy link when he does not have a wife representing him at home.

Other problems can occur when senior officers marry women who know little about the Navy. Because they have not spent years learning the culture, and there are no formal courses for them, they are unaware of role expectations. This can create interpersonal problems among the wives in the command. These problems have a way of getting back to the men and can influence their performance and their opinion of the Navy.

There are Navy resources to help officers' wives solve some of the problems created by societal influences. Family Service Centers offer a variety of services and programs, including workshops and counseling. They conduct pre-deployment briefs for families. These briefs apprise the wives of the Navy resources and benefits. They also discuss the stress of deployment. Some FSCs offer C.O./X.O. training forums to help the wives who know little about their role expectations and responsibilities.

The ombudsman program provides ombudsmen as a source of information for officers' families and enlisted families. Ombudsmen maintain contact with the commanding officer and work with the commanding officer's wife to solve problems during deployments.

From what commanding officers' wives say, the ombudsman is most helpful during deployments. Good ones make the C.O.'s wife's life easier. Bad ones make deployments even more difficult. There are a lot of factors that impact on the performance ability of the ombudsman. The selection process makes it difficult to find the right person. Every command must have an ombudsman, and it must be a volunteer. Small commands do not have much choice. The job demands energy, time, and professional skills. While there are training programs for the ombudsman, the skills required, especially during deployments, border on the para-socialpsychological.

The C.O.'s wife's relationship with the ombudsman is dictated by the wishes of the commanding officer. The Ombudsman Manual (1988:33-34) recommends the following possible roles for the C.O.'s wife: C.O.'s personal liaison with ombudsman, sounding board for Ombudsman, personal support and encouragement, resource person, contact for phone tree. The manual also suggests that the C.O.'s or X.O.'s wife might function as "an unofficial ombudsman for the other officers' spouses." It is this gray area that causes conflicts, confusion, and problems. It has also, in effect, made the C.O.'s wife the manager of the command ombudsmen, as well as acting as the ombudsman for the officers' wives. There is an overlapping of C.O.'s wives and ombudsmen responsibilities. In Chapter 4 Tables 4.2 and 4.3. show the areas of duplicated responsibility.

FSCs and the ombudsman program have had limited success in filling the void left by officers' wives who are not active in the organization. Neither program addresses the socialization of wives. While the impact of a junior ranking officer's wife is not strong on the organization, the influence of a senior wife is. A missing commanding officer's wife, or one who behaves inappropriately, can hurt morale and retention.

Expectations and responsibilities of commanding officers' wives are never addressed by the organization. The Navy is emphatic in its position that wives' organizational activities are voluntary. Wives who wish to assume responsibilities and do a "good job" learn the role only from other wives. The ideal time for this training is when the husband is an executive officer. However, working wives, geographic bachelors, and single commanding officers affect this process. There is no resource that is compensating for this loss.

The wives had little difficulty identifying their Navy tasks, especially the commanding officer and executive officer wives. They left little doubt that they do "something" for the Navy. An analysis of the wives' social networks in Chapter 6, suggests that wives are using their social networks in the performance of these organizational tasks. The nagging question is whether their labors are vital to the Navy mission, or merely tolerated.

Table 5.1 Social Factors That Impact On Roles Of Officers' Wives And The Compensatory Navy Resources

<u>Societal Factor</u>	<u>Affects</u>	<u>Navy Resource</u>
Working Wives	Socialization process	FSC
	Command and family information link	Ombudsman
	Wives Club Support Groups	
	Cohesiveness of command Officer\wife	Missing
	team Concept	Missing
Geographic Bachelors	Staff for Navy base volunteer organizations	Missing
	Families point of contact	Ombudsman
	Socialization process	FSC
	Command & family information link	Ombudsman
	C.O.'s information on the morale & welfare of command families	Missing
	Cohesiveness of command Officer\Wife team concept	Missing
	Staff for Navy base volunteer organizations	Missing
	Tasks performed by C.O.'s wives	Missing
	Socialization process	FSC
Remarried CO's		

CHAPTER 6
THE COMPOSITION AND FUNCTION OF WIVES' SOCIAL NETWORKS

Introduction

Navy wives talk about how they support their husbands in their careers and about what they do for the Navy. Commanding officers' and executive officers' wives, in particular, recount what they do for command families. The tasks take the form of brokering information, economic aid and emotional support. Demands for these services increase when husbands are deployed and families are under the most stress. To accomplish these tasks the officers' wives have developed social networks that can be use to reach resources and diffuse information.

Elements of her husband's profession, as well as personal factors, influence the wife's social network. The place of residence, the wife's working status, her husband's position and duty are major determinants. This chapter is a quantitative look at these influencing factors.

Data Collecting

The data for this chapter was collected by telephone and with dairies. Wives were instructed to note their network interactions on a particular day. They reported who they communicated with, the content of the communication, and whether the person was connected to the military or not. Military-connected was any active duty military member, or any dependent of an active duty member. Retirees were considered civilians. Wives were also asked to specify if the contact was with an ombudsman.

The reported interactions expressed behaviors in economic aid exchanges, emotional support, organizational work, and the passing and receiving of information (brokering).

Economic aid is any product or service purchased, bartered, or given. Emotional support is an expression of emotions that are supportive. Information brokering is the process of passing and receiving military or other types of information. Organizational work is a task performed by a wife that the Navy would ordinarily pay to have done.

Composition Of Social Networks

Data for network composition came from a sub-sample of 39 wives who reported on their social network contacts for more than one day. Of these 14 were commanding officers' wives. At the end of the study year each wife was given the names of all the people she reported having contact with. The wives

identified each person on their list as friend, relative, or acquaintance, and noted if the person was military-connected or civilian. Wives were asked to add the names of those not on the list whom they considered members of their network.

Two big problems occurred when analyzing the sub-sample for influencing factors. Independent variables created very small cells. Also, the variances in the networks produced weak results for all the tests. However, when considering all the data, including the interviews, a pattern or trend emerges.

Network Size

The data show clear and considerable variance in size and composition of networks (Figure 6.1). The mean size for networks was 59.2, with a range of 11 to 150 (belonging to a woman employed full time).

The problems of trying to estimate the size of networks was addressed by Killworth et al. (1990) in their comparison of four network generating models. Large discrepancies in self-reported data can stem from the inaccuracy of the informant and the method used to gather the data (see also Bernard et al. 1979/80, 1984). The Killworth et al. (1990) experiments examined the global network of individuals, while my study is about personal networks. Killworth et al. found that mean network size was around 1700 for U.S. informants and 570 for Mexico City informants.

The network size in my study is the number of people informants reported having contact with. In another study on personal communication, Shelley et al. (1990) tracked the contacts of 21 informants for one month. They reported an average personal contact network size of 25 for women in the study. The urban dwellers in Fisher's study (1982) had an average network size of 18.5.

Compared to these findings the wives' average is high. However, Bernard et al. (1990) reported their military-connected informants had a significantly larger mean network than their civilian informants. They suggested high mobility and age as influencing variables.

Network Composition

The wives identified their network contacts by labeling them "relation," "friend" or "other" (acquaintances, business contacts and neighbors). Table 6.2 compares the percentages of friends, relatives and acquaintances of the officers' wives with Fisher's urban population, and with the Bernard et al. findings using their Reverse Small World (RSW) technique. The wives' networks are also compared with Wellman's second study (1982) of personal communities in East York.

The composition of the officers' wives' networks closely represents the networks generated by the RSW instrument. This may be because RSW asked questions based on location and occupation. The wives' networks show a large percentage of

ties through the husband's occupation and location (unit command).

The large number of others (47%) in the wives' networks might be explained by the types in this category. People in the command unit and Navy who were not considered friends were included in this category. Friendship means a large investment of time and effort. The high mobility rate of military families limits both. The time constraint also contributes to more people being labeled "acquaintances".

The migratory lifestyle of the Navy wife also limits contacts with relatives. Frequent communication with distant kin by phone is expensive. The most kin (22) were recorded by a black woman (Table 6.2). She defined kin as any blood relative, any relative by marriage, and good friends she called cousin. One person reported only one relative in her network, her husband. This women also had the smallest network with a count of eleven.

The variance in the composition of the networks of Navy wives is not as easy to explain. Friends composed anywhere from 9% to 65% of the networks. Relatives were from 4% to 48% of the network contacts, and others were 20% to 79%.

Confusion on definitions could account for the results. Does friend mean the same to everyone? Fisher (1982) discovered that the term can be loosely applied and can have different meanings.

The wives were asked to give their definitions of friend, relative and acquaintance. Most of the definitions on friend referred to a closeness, an ability to depend on that person. Acquaintances were mostly described in less intimate terms such as: "a person I know socially," "a person I would spend my spare time with, not necessarily by choice," "a person I have met but have not had the time to establish common values with." In spite of some commonality in definitions, the definition of friend and acquaintance covers a broad spectrum.

The definition of "relative" was fairly consistent. Most replied it was someone related by blood and marriage. One woman however responded, "Crazy question! They just are." Perhaps that is a clue to the problem. People have their own scale for valuing their contacts. The valuing scale is personal and individualistic. It is so much a part of who and what we are that we do not give it much thought. In addition, we tend to believe it is universal.

The size of the networks differed greatly. The wives who moved during the study had smaller overall networks. This could be due to their laxity in reporting contacts. Or, the move could have reduced their number of contacts. One woman remarked: "Moving has certainly cut down on my communications."

Kin, Military and Civilian Ties

To get data on what kinds of people are chosen as network members all relatives were put in a separate category (14%). The remaining contacts were divided into military-connected and civilian members (Table 6.3). The wives' networks were evenly divided between civilian non-kin and military non-kin. The percentage was about 43% each.

Both Wellman and Fisher reported kin members to be about 42% of the network. Only Fisher allowed informants to identify their network members in more than one way. The comparison between the findings of Fisher and Wellman, and the wives' networks is not a straightforward one. However, it does allow some parallels to be drawn.

The wives' networks were identified for connections to members associated with Navy. The average number of military contacts was almost 27. The highest number of military links recorded was 72. These contacts were recorded by the wife of a commanding officer on sea duty. The large number could be attributed to living on base and her job in the Naval Reserve.

One woman reported only two military links. She had little contact with the military. Her husband was on shore duty, they resided in a civilian neighborhood, and the wife was employed full time. Two others reported four military members in their networks. Both of these women moved shortly after they started their recordings.

The average number of wives' civilian contacts was about 26. A women with full time employment recorded 130. The smallest number of civilian contacts was three. The wife with three contacts was visiting her mother in California during her recording time. Her Navy lifestyle over the years probably isolated her from her former civilian contacts.

Wellman and Fisher also looked at the percent of network co-worker and organization members. Wellman (1982) reports 10% of the East Yorkers' networks were workmates. An additional 5% were former workmates, and 4% were organizational ties (total 19%). Fisher (1982) reported 10% of the urban dwellers' networks were identified as co-workers, and an additional 10% as fellow organization members (20%).

Influences on the Network Composition

Three factors influence the composition of wives' networks (Table 6.4). Full time employment of the wife, sea duty, and the husband's position as commanding officer. Full time employment produces more civilian members than part-time work or no employment. Military membership increases when husbands are on sea duty. When husband's are commanding officers, wives have larger networks and more military members.

The data on commanding officers' wives shows they spend a lot of time brokering information. These interactions are mostly with other military wives and Navy personnel.

Informational needs become important when communications with husbands are limited, such as during deployments.

Functions Of The Social Networks

Officers' wives utilize their networks to access two communities, the military one and the civilian community. Overall 69.8% of their personal social networking activity is with military-connected alters (Table 6.5). Network interactions are divided between locating and supplying economic aid, emotional support, and information. Percentages show that the networks are mostly used to broker information to military-connected contacts.

Twenty six percent of the sample population were commanding officers' wives, 12% were executive officers' wives. An analysis of variance was conducted on C.O.'s wives, X.O's wives and other wives. This produced differences in only two variables: ombudsman contact and work for the organization (Table 6.6). Wives, however, reported that commanding officers' wives perform many more services than other wives.

Informants also felt that resource demands were influenced by sea duty and the employment status of wives. Statistical tests showed some variable did produce significant differences in network functions. These were: residence, wife's employment status, husband's duty station and position.

Residence

Where a wife lived significantly influenced her economic exchanges (Table 6.7). The definition for economic exchanges includes items that are influenced by proximity. Car pooling, borrowing items, watching someone's house are all "neighborly" activities. It is not surprising that women who resided on base had more economic exchanges with military (18.9% to 13.04%), and women who live off base had more exchanges with civilians (16% to 10.2%).

Employment Status

Full time employment effects are seen in the number of military information exchanges, and economic aid interactions (Table 6.8). Working is a mixed blessing. The additional income lessens the need for economic exchanges with others. However, the time factor is probably the strongest reason for the differences. Working wives have less time to provide economic services for others, and they have less time to broker information with their military-connected contacts.

Duty Station

When husbands are on sea duty, contacts with military-connected alters are greater than when husbands are on shore duty (Table 6.9). During shore duty there are more civilian contacts of emotional support than military ones. When husbands are shore based opportunities to become involved with

the civilian community increase. This results in an increase in civilian emotional support.

Wives with husbands on sea duty also have more ombudsman contacts, and do more organizational work. Most organizational work deals with issues around deployments. Homecoming arrangements and getting messages and items out to the deployed command are examples of this.

Homecoming bears the earmarks of a pageant. Wives decorate the base with welcoming signs such as this one spotted recently:

Roses are red, violets are blue
Welcome Home Impervious,
We love you!

Some organizational work is closer to the Navy's mission. One wing wife had the responsibility to find out how an incoming C.O.'s marital problems might effect the squadron.

I called a wife I knew was a good friend of theirs to find out if she thought their personal problems were going to impact on the squadron, and the kind of job he would do as C.O.

Position of Husband

Commanding officers' wives have more information interactions with military-connected alters (Table 6.10). C.O.'s wives reported dealing with two major types of military information. They work with organizational information they receive from husbands and the Navy that they

pass on to command families, and information on families that they give to their husbands.

The wife of a ship C.O. felt a responsibility to "...let my husband know about family things, personal things going on in their [command families's] lives." Another spoke about how "My husband will be talking to someone who has a negative attitude about the job. Then I'll tell him that the wife has pneumonia and he'll understand how it fits in."

C.O.'s wives have more ombudsman contacts. One of the responsibilities of the ombudsman is to broker information for command families. Many C.O.'s wives maintain a working relationship with ombudsman to facilitate the flow of information.

A C.O.'s wife explained the working relationship between the C.O.'s wife and the ombudsman.

The ombudsman initially takes the call, screens it, and if she has the expertise to deal with the problem she will. If not, she'll say, "Let me check on it." She'll hang up the phone and call the C.O.'s wife....The C.O.'s wife is a resource person, resource for some of the other officers' groups like the Wing. The ombudsman wouldn't feel comfortable calling the Wing.

Commanding officers' wives have more economic interactions with civilians than do other wives. Part of a C.O.'s responsibility is to maintain good relationships with the civilian community. C.O.'s wives do volunteer charity work in the community, and host military/civilian social events.

Community involvement can be extensive. One wife recited her civilian-military activities. They included: board member of the Georgia Cancer Society, garden club, president of the high school tennis booster club, member of the Chamber of Commerce and the P.T.A. She reported how she "organized and worked selling flowers for the community Cancer Society."

The wife of a base commander talked about her family's participation in the local Christmas Toy project.

We worked Dorcus Drake [toy charity]. The twins and I handed toys out to the poor for six hours.

During deployments C.O.'s wife spend a lot of time communicating news about the command (Table 6.11). It is not unusual for wives to have the responsibility for getting the news out on the return of the unit. As one wife reported: "John called from the Persian Gulf with the homecoming details." Another became a communication link between the Navy sources and the wives of husbands who were flying in from the ship at the end of the deployment.

C.O.s' Wives Networks During War

During Desert Shield five commanding officers' wives volunteered to report their networks over six weeks (Table 6.12). Twenty-five lines of social networking were collected. These data were compared with data collected on C.O.'s wives during peacetime. The small data base allows only for observations on possible trends. However, it does show the same direction as data from the larger study.

The events in the Gulf affected the network interactions of commanding officers' wives. A comparison of the important events listed in Table 6.13 with the behavioral graphs (Figures 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3) shows some interesting relationships. Both psychological support and information brokering increased when Navy pilots began flying combat missions against Iraqi forces. A smaller, but noticeable, increase in information flow occurred when General Powell and Secretary Cheney arrived in Riyadh for meetings with U.N military forces on February 8.

The plot of economic aid during this critical time shows some surprising results. Economic aid interactions decreased when bombing first began. During the first days of the war the Navy wives stayed glued to their television sets watching the in-depth and continual news coverage. The reduced activity outside the home, and the preoccupation with their husband's safety, resulted in fewer economic interactions among the wives.

Lines A, B, C, and D represent the three aviation and one ship C.O.s' wives in the Persian Gulf. E is the data of the wife of a C.O. who was preparing his squadron for deployment on the Kitty Hawk. They did not deploy until March. Her data lines are an inverse pattern of the others. As the squadron's deployment date approached, E's information brokering activities markedly increased.

Statistically the wartime C.O. wives in the study had more information interactions with military-connected individuals. They also had more ombudsman contacts. One wife reported: "I kept a lot of communication going so nobody felt left out."

Summary

The important findings from the statistical analysis is that regardless of personal lifestyle, informants interactions with military-connected outweigh those with civilians. Military-connected interactions increase especially when husbands are gone. Even wives who are employed full time in civilian jobs report high military-connected membership in their networks and in their interactions.

Commanding officers' wives, especially during sea duty, reported more interactions with the organization, military wives, and ombudsman than any of the other wives. This supports the interview data. The rank of the husband had little influence on the belief that C.O.s' wives were valuable sources of information. All wives emphasized the importance of receiving information during sea duty, and the part C.O.'s wife's play in that.

The wives were emphatic in their belief that officers' wives did not use the ombudsman program. Instead, they said, officers' wives preferred to refer to their C.O.'s or X.O.'s wife for help and information. Statistical analysis supported

this. C.O.s' wives had significantly more ombudsman contacts than other wives and brokered more information with military-connected than any other type wife.

Table 6.1 Minimum And Maximum Size Of Networks

	Minimum	Maximum	(Average)
Relative	1	22	8.41
Friend	3	57	21.4
Other	4	116	31.2
Size	11	150	59.2

N=39

Table 6.2 Wives' Network Composition Compared To Other Studies

	Relative	Friend	Other
Fisher	.42	.23	.32
Wellman	.43	.11	.42
RSW	.17	.37	.46
Officers' Wives	.16	.34	.47

N=39

Table 6.3 Percent Of Military/Civilian/Kin In Networks

	Percent of network	Min-max number	Mean (S.D.)
Military (16.5)	.43	1 - 72	26.5
Civilian (23.1)	.43	3 - 130	26.5
Relatives (4.1)	.14	1 - 22	8.6
Total Number in network (27.3)		11 - 150	61.6

N=39

Table 6.4 Conditions That Affect Composition And Size Of Networks

	Working Full time	Part-time or no work
	Means (S.D.)	Means (S.D.)
Kin	7.8 (5.37)	8.82 (3.7)
Military	21 (12.68)	29.1 (17.33)
Civilian	32.7 (18.6)	20.54 (17.33)*
Size	61.5 (22.9)	58.4 (23.9)
	Sea Duty	Shore Duty
Kin	9.06 (3.27)	8.1 (4.79)
Military	32.94 (14.48)	22.1 (16.7)*
Civilian	22.94 (16.25)	24.38 (15.76)
Size	64.94 (20.14)	54.62 (25.26)
	Commanding Officer Wife	Other wife
Kin	7.8 (3.76)	9.04 (4.4)
Military	33.6 (16.9)	22.6 (14.97)*
Size	69.7 (18.5)	52.4 (24.1)*

*p<.05

N=39

Table 6.5 Percent Of Network Interactions

	Military-connected	Civilian
Economic aid	17.7	13.4
Emotional Support	11.7	2.6
Information	35.4	14.3
Organizational		
Work	4.9	n.a.
Ombudsman		
contacts	(4.3)	n.a.

N=39

Ombudsman contacts and organizational work have no comparative in the civilian interactions. Ombudsman contacts represent contact with a particular type of person, not a use of the network.

Table 6.6 Results of ANOVA On C.O.s' Wives/X.O.s' Wives/Other Wives

	F value	P value
Economic aid		
with military	1.92	.15
Economic aid		
with civilians	.58	.56
Emotional support		
with military	.06	.56
Emotional support		
with civilians	.35	.71
Information		
with military	2.44	.09
Information		
with civilians	2.25	1.09
Ombudsman Contact	5.11	.007**
Organizational		
work	4.04	.02*

*= $p < .05$ **= $p < .01$

N=135

Table 6.7 Percent Of Network Interactions By Residence

	On Base	Off Base	Z Score
Economic aid			
with military	18.9%	13.4%	3.71**
Economic aid			
with civilians	10.2%	16%	3.93**
Emotional aid			
with military	10.78%	11.55%	n.s.
Emotional aid			
with civilians	5.7%	7.3%	n.s.
Information			
with military	20.7%	19.6%	n.s.
Information			
with civilians	10%	10.8%	n.s.
Ombudsman Count	10.9%	10.5%	n.s.

**= $p < .01$

N=712

Table 6.8 Percentage Of Network Interactions By Employment

	Full-time Employed	Non-working	Z Score
Economic aid			
with military	13.5%	16.48%	1.65*
Economic aid			
with civilians	12.4%	14.33%	n.s.
Emotional aid			
with military	9.7%	11.8%	n.s.
Emotional aid			
with civilians	6.9%	6.55%	n.s.
Information			
with military	17.4%	22.05%	2.67**
Information			
with civilians	9.5%	10.04%	n.s.
Ombudsman Count	7.5%	10.1%	n.s.
Organizational			
work	7.5%	11.2%	n.s.

*= $p < .05$ **= $p < .01$

N=712

Table 6.9 Percentage Of Network Interactions By Duty Station

	Sea Duty	Shore Duty	Z Score
Economic aid			
with military	19.8%	11.8%	5.07**
Economic aid			
with civilians	12.8%	13.8%	n.s.
Emotional aid			
with military	14.8%	7.7%	5.19**
Emotional aid			
with civilians	5.4%	7.8%	2.23*
Information			
with military	26.4%	14.6%	7.79**
Information			
with civilians	9.83%	10.9%	n.s.
Ombudsman Count	18.8%	2.8%	6.89**
Organizational			
work	14.0%	7.8%	2.66**

*= $p < .05$ **= $p < .01$

N=712

Table 6.10 C.O.s' Wives Network Activity Compared With Other Wives

	C.O.s' Wives	Other Wives	Z Scores
Economic aid			
with military	16.1%	15.6%	n.s.
Economic aid			
with civilian	15.1%	12.3%	1.84*
Emotional support			
with military	10.7%	11.5%	n.s.
Emotional support			
with civilians	6.1%	6.9%	n.s.
Information			
with military	25.4%	17.6%	4.97**
Information			
with civilians	10.25%	10.53%	n.s.
Ombudsman Count	15.3%	8.0%	3.04**

*= $p < .05$ **= $p < .01$

N=712

Table 6.11 Network Activity Of C.O.s' Wives During Sea Duty

	C.O.s' Wives	Other wives	Z Scores
Economic aid			
with military	20.6%	19.4%	n.s.
Economic aid			
with civilians	15.9%	11.5%	1.97*
Emotional support			
with military	15.9%	14.3%	n.s.
Emotional support			
with civilians	5.0%	5.6%	n.s.
Information			
with military	38.8%	21.0%	6.97**
Information			
with civilians	9.3%	10.0%	n.s.
Ombudsman Count	31.8%	13.1%	4.13**
Organizational			
work	28.0%	7.8%	5.03**

*= $p < .05$ **= $p < .01$

N=712

Table 6.12 Network Activity Of C.O.s' Wives During War And Peace

	War wives	Peace wives	Z Scores
Economic aid			
with military	25.3%	20.6%	n.s.
Economic aid			
with civilians	18.67%	15.9%	n.s.
Emotional support			
with military	17.3%	15.9%	n.s.
Emotional support			
with civilians	6.7%	5%	n.s.
Information			
with military	48.0%	38.8%	1.69*
Information			
with civilians	7.0%	9.3%	n.s.
Ombudsman Count	52.0%	31.8%	1.9*
Organizational work	32.0%	28.0%	n.s.

*= $p < .05$

N=50

Table 6.13 Critical Events In The Gulf War

January 9	Sect. Baker meets with Iraq's foreign minister
January 16	Navy pilots start flying combat missions
January 20	Captured U.S. pilots on Iraq T.V.
January 25	Scud missile hits barracks of reserve unit killing 28 Americans.
February 8	Gen. Powell & Sect. Cheney in Riyadh to confer with military commanders
February 18	Mine hits cruiser Princeton
February 24	Ground force action starts
February 27	President Bush ends fighting midnight EST

War C.O.s' Wives Network Interactions

Coding for the war wives tables is as follows: A, B, C
 Wives-Husbands aviation commanding officers in the Persian
 Gulf. D Wife-Husband ship commanding officer in the Persian

Gulf. E Wife-Aviation commanding officer preparing to deploy to the Persian Gulf.

Table 6.14 Economic Interactions Of War C.O.s' Wives

	A	B	C	D	E
Jan 4	1				
Jan 8			5		
Jan 9				1	
Jan. 10					6
Jan. 15	3	0		0	1
Jan. 16			0		
Jan. 17				0	
Jan. 18		1			
Jan. 20	1		2		
Jan. 23				0	
Jan. 29		1			
Jan. 31	3				
Feb. 1					2
Feb. 8	2	1			
Feb. 9			6		
Feb. 13					3
Feb. 20			2		
Feb. 21		1			
Feb. 25				4	
Feb. 27					5

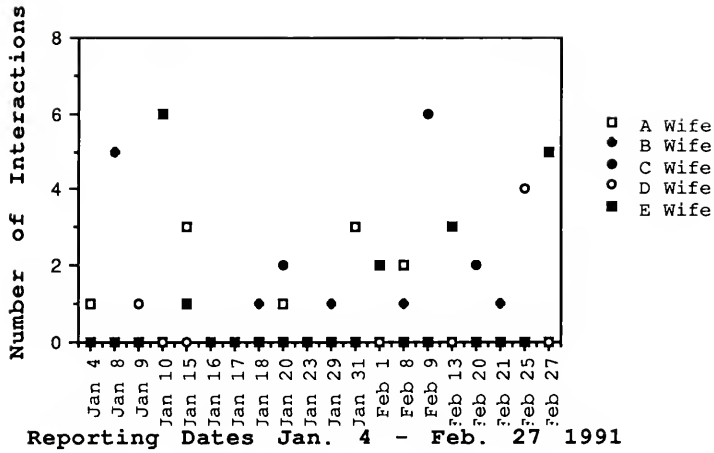


Figure 6.1 Economic Interactions Of War C.O.s' Wives

Table 6.15 Emotional Support Interactions Of War C.O.s' Wives

	A	B	C	D	E
Jan. 4	2				
Jan. 8			4		
Jan. 9				1	
Jan. 10					1
Jan. 15	4	4		2	3
Jan. 16			8		
Jan. 17				30	
Jan. 18		1			
Jan. 20	5		0		
Jan. 23				0	
Jan. 29		1			
Jan. 31	2				
Feb. 1					1
Feb. 8	2	0			
Feb. 9			3		
Feb. 13					3
Feb. 20			1		
Feb. 21		2			
Feb. 25				1	
Feb. 27					4

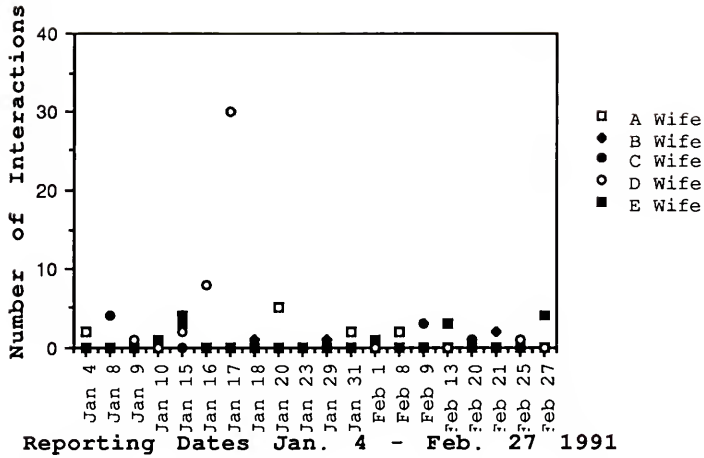


Figure 6.2 Emotional Support Interactions Of War C.O.s' Wives

Table 6.16 Information Interactions of War C.O.s' Wives

	A	B	C	D	E
Jan. 4	8				
Jan. 8			11		
Jan. 9				3	
Jan. 10					9
Jan. 15	4	5		3	8
Jan. 16			23		
Jan. 17				31	
Jan. 18		4			
Jan. 20	7		4		
Jan. 23				8	
Jan. 29		2			
Jan. 31	7				
Feb. 1					6
Feb. 8	10	11			
Feb. 9			8		
Feb. 13					7
Feb. 20			8		
Feb. 21		2			
Feb. 25				7	
Feb. 27					23

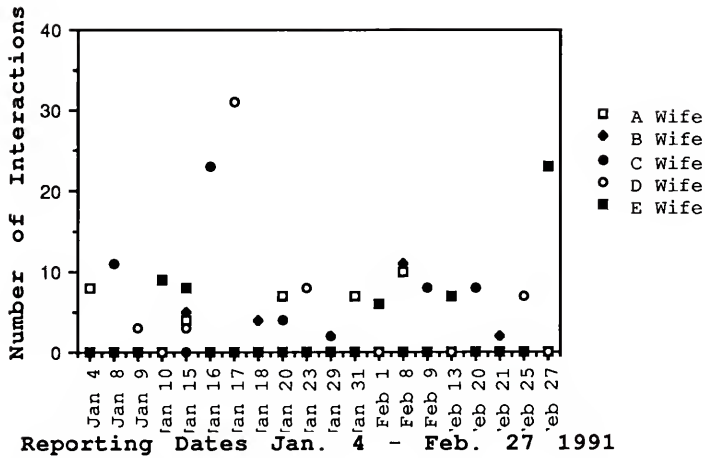


Figure 6.3 Information Interactions Of War C.O.s' Wives

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to gain some insight into the relationship of officer's wives to the Navy by studying their social networks. On the one hand, there is both ethnographic and quantitative proof that officers' wives do certain tasks for the organization. However, it is not clear what value these tasks are to the organization.

The Social Networks Of Officers' Wives

Navy officers' wives networks are closely tied to the occupation of their husbands. On average, networks contain as many civilian alters as military-connected alters. Yet almost 70% of all interactions are with the military-connected. Many of these network ties are not freely chosen. Rather, they are assigned indirectly by the command with call trees. These call trees force network interactions of information dissemination and emotional support.

It is known that social networks include occupational connections (Wellman, 1982, Fisher, 1982). These wives' networks are heavily embedded in the husbands' occupation.

The social networks of naval officers' wives show a tightly knit community. Most of their individual needs are answered by network members who are connected to the Navy. The structure of the networks is such that the Navy can access them for its own purposes. C.O.'s wives are the key to this access.

C.O.s' wives are information brokers with a two-fold mission. One is to supply organizational information to others. Their other responsibility is to supply family welfare information to the organization.

Civilians are represented in the network as acquaintances, friends, neighbors and kin. The naval officers' wives, however, received most of their psychological support, economic aid and information from other naval officers' wives. Civilian interactions are mostly economic, and in the form of neighborly exchanges of services and items.

The Organizational Responsibilities Of Officers' Wives

One of the problems faced in any anthropological study is dealing with the variety of human behaviors. Individualism is evident in the wives remarks as well as in their behaviors. The statistical analysis showed wide variances in network interactions and compositions. Some wives declared loud and clear that they wanted little to do with their husbands' profession. Other wives related their support and sacrifices in helping their husbands in their careers. There were many

wives who fell between these two extremes, helping in some ways, but not in others.

I don't think this variety of behaviors detracts from the study or the conclusions on Navy officers' wives roles. Rather, it emphasizes their uniqueness while underscoring their very human ability to be different.

Wives and Organizational Work

Fowlkes (1980) and Finch (1983) write of the emotional support that clergy, medical, and academic wives give their husbands. The officers' wives in this study also spoke about support. They emphasized the importance of a comfortable and stress-free home life, and acting as sounding boards for their husbands. Their moral support and care extends to withholding unpleasant information while husbands are at sea.

These behaviors may have allowed their husbands to spend more energy on their Navy jobs. Defining them as organizational work rather than socially normative behaviors, is questionable. However, other tasks, performed particularly during sea duty, can be defined as organizational work. Brokering information to families, supplying emotional support to other Navy wives, and working with ombudsmen have direct bearing on the organization.

There are, therefore, some important similarities between the Finch and Fowlkes findings, and the data from Navy officers' wives. There is, though, a fine distinction. The

work of the clergy, medical and academic wives directly benefitted their husbands, and could have had some indirect benefit on the husbands' professions. Many of the tasks performed by the officers' wives directly benefit the organization, and could have some indirect benefit on their husbands' careers.

The Navy wives' occupational tasks have sprung from two sources: the increase in married personnel (Little, 1971), and the Navy's social welfare policies. Both of these are economically driven. With monetary and in-kind benefits the Navy encourages marriage. On the other hand, the expense of training personnel for a high tech military forces the Navy to develop policies that encourage retention. Knowing wives' dissatisfaction with military life affects both performance and retention (Marsh, 1989), the Navy developed The Family Support Program.

The Navy created the ombudsman position as part of the support program. The ombudsman acts as resource for information, and as a coordinator between the Navy, and families. Overall the ombudsman program works well, but it has its problems. Officers' families prefer to use their C.O.'s wife for information and other resources. C.O.s' wives feel a responsibility to their husbands to oversee the command ombudsman program. And, many ombudsmen find their C.O.'s wife has better access to the organization than they do.

For these reasons commanding officers' wives on sea duty find themselves managing their ombudsman program and acting as a major information resource. Command families believe that C.O.s' and X.O.s' wives have access to current and reliable command information. They also believe that the quickest way to the C.O.'s ear, or the Navy's, is through the C.O.'s wife. These assumptions reflect reality. The organization does respond to the C.O.'s wife, thus allowing her referent power.

The social network data bears evidence that the majority of the officers' wives' interactions are with Navy connected alters. Further, they show that the majority of the social interactions deal with brokering information that is of military content. When occupational factors increase stress, such as during deployments and in war time, the need for information and emotional support also increases.

Since C.O.'s and X.O.'s wives answer most of these needs, their organizational activities increase most of all. These behaviors identify the C.O.s' wives' organizational role as the manager and monitor of the morale and welfare of the command unit, particularly during deployments.

The Importance Of Wives' Tasks To The Navy

The data from this study did not produce definitive proof that the work done by officers' wives has any intrinsic value to the Navy. There is some evidence to indicate that the wives are merely seeking an identity through association with

their husbands' roles. Hall (1971) writes of the influence of careers on personal subidentities. Wives of all ranks spoke of their dedication to the support of their husbands' careers. Senior wives expressed pride in their husbands' successes.

Jans (1989) explored this theory in a study of Australian officers' wives. According to Jans' findings, the wives' perception of the quality of their military life, and their support of traditional wives roles produced vicarious identities.

My research was not designed to test the Hall or Jans theories. The quality-of-life perception was not addressed. However, the support of the traditional wife's role might be measured by the number of wives employed. Overall it does not differ significantly from the general population (around 50%).

Schwartz et al. (1991) noted that Army officers' wives are seeking employment outside the home. This hardly fits the behaviors of the traditional wife, if traditional means full time homemaker.

Fifty two percent of the C.O.'s wives in the study were employed part-time or full time. Twenty five percent of the wives with husbands on sea duty worked full time, 37.5% worked part-time. Admittedly, part-time work is poorly defined and can allow for the traditional roles of homemaker. Therefore, the possibility of some senior officers' wives identifying with the husband's success by mimicking their responsibilities can not be overruled.

Setting aside the exchange identity theory, there are indicators that the wives have a role of their own, and it is valued by the organization. The Uniformed Services Former Spouse Protection Act (Public Law 97-252, 1983) awards divorced military wives up to half of the spouses' military retirement pay. The act applies to spouses married ten years or more. With this act the government recognizes the military spouse role and is placing a value on it.

There is another indicator that is purely "Navy." While the Navy does not require wives to participate in Navy activities, it does recommend that commanding officers consider involving C.O.'s, X.O.'s and command master chief's wives in a role with the ombudsman (Navy Family Ombudsman Manual, 1988).

The ombudsman program is part of the Family Support Program which is a 35 million dollar 1992 budget line item (M. L. Kelly, NMPC 66, personal communication). Family Service Centers are also part of the Family Support Program. One of their responsibilities is to oversee the ombudsman program. At present ombudsmen are unpaid. However, there is a bill before Congress that would pay them some wages (M. L. Kelly, NMPC 66, personal communication).

The services the Family Support Program offers include training and socializing workshops provided by FSCs. Of the 135 officers' wives questioned only four knew anything about the services offered. Three of these were C.O.'s wives, one

of these wives was employed by the base FSC. Some wives mentioned the belief that FSCs were mostly for enlisted personnel.

Comments show that officers' wives perform some FSC tasks. Senior officers' wives attempt to socialize junior wives in their command. C.O.'s and X.O.'s wives design and conduct their own forums and training sessions. C.O.s' wives also work closely with ombudsmen, and perform ombudsmen duties for officers' wives.

Although there are some indications that officers' wives tasks are of value to the Navy, the evidence is weak. Some interesting data might be produced by a comparative study on command unit performance and involvement of C.O.'s and X.O.'s wives. The wives felt strongly that active participation by these wives was needed, and that its absence had a negative impact on a command.

Effects Of Missing Senior Wives

The data to measure the effects of missing C.O.'s and X.O.'s wives is anecdotal. Wives reported their experiences, and their observations when C.O.s' wives were missing or inactive. The one episode that addressed a non-participating wife was reported during Desert Storm. It involved the wives of enlisted personnel who were deployed in the Persian Gulf. Dissatisfied with the lack of information supplied by their C.O.'s and X.O.'s wives, the command wives complained bitterly

to the Wing. In essence they put their C.O.'s and X.O.'s wives on report.

Available data on the network activity of that C.O.'s wife revealed that she had fewer information and ombudsman contacts than other Desert Storm C.O.s' wives in the study.

While interesting, this datum is not strong enough to support the conclusion that missing, or non-participating C.O.s' wives affect the Navy's mission capabilities. A study comparing command performance measurements with wives' organizational activity would shed light on these questions.

The Effects Of Social Values On Wives' Roles

The occupational model of the Armed Forces has blurred the boundary between civilian and military values. As Moskos (1977) predicted, the new Navy family has moved home life away from the work place. Civilian community living has introduced civilian values and behaviors into the military family. More officers' wives are employed outside the home. Many are following career paths and choose not to move with their husbands. Some officers have divorced and remarried.

Even though the occupational model encourages a move toward convergence with the civilian sector families are still deeply rooted in the Navy. Their network interactions keep them anchored to the organization, and occupational elements control interactions. Wives must maintain Navy contacts if they want information on their deployed husbands. Important

emotional support is best supplied by other command wives. Frequent moves that take wives away from civilian friends also encourage military friendships.

Navy wives who work full time are as deeply involved in the navy as non-working wives. The quantity of their information brokering is effected by their lack of free time. There is no indication that their brokering activity is less efficient than wives who do not work. In fact, junior officers' wives felt their employed C.O.'s wives gave them an abundance of emotional support and information during deployments.

Problems that occur are indirectly related to employment. They are caused more by wives who do not participate, or who do not move with their husbands. Further, these problems only are an issue when the officer is in a command position. Again, this study offers no quantitative proof of this. There is only the strong, and unanimous, opinions of the wives.

Wives cite examples of dissatisfaction, interpersonal problems, and confusion that are related to absent or non-participating C.O.'s wives. The experiences the wives related can not be discounted. The unanimity of the comments speaks for some truth in the statements.

One other social behavior is causing some problems with command wives: remarriage at the senior level. Many of the new wives have not spent years in the Navy learning the culture. This lack of knowledge can lead to inappropriate

behaviors that create problems during critical times. The C.O.'s wife plays an important role in the dispensing of deployment information and emotional support. A wife not schooled in the fundamentals of temporary single parenting and long deployments will have difficulty in helping command families through this critical time.

The Future Navy Officers' Wife

Economics are major determinants in the roles of future Navy wives. Budget constraints are causing the Navy to consider fewer moves, less time spent at sea, and a smaller force. These actions will allow Navy families to establish firmer roots in the civilian community. There will be more opportunity to embrace civilian values. Because of the fewer moves more wives might opt for career-type employment. This leaves less time for Navy related activities.

On the other hand, budget constraints on the Navy are a reflection of the weakened American economy. This translates into fewer jobs in the private sector. This will keep some officers' wives in the home and out of the labor force. Unemployed wives will have opportunity and time to perform organizational tasks. This could resulting in a resurgence of the institutional model officer's wife.

Neither the changing occupational factors, nor the weakening American economy are strong indicators of what direction the future Navy wife's role will take. There is

another consideration. As the Navy shrinks in size efforts will be made to retain and promote the better people. This requires some hard choices by commanding officers when filling out fitness reports. When performance, experience, and other measurements are equal, the C.O.s will need to find a discriminating factor. The wife who overtly supports the Navy and her husband's career might be it. After all, the Navy is getting two for one.

With military budget cutbacks some occupational model ingredients will change. Those who wish to stay will be men and women who hold strong institutional values: commitment to country, adventure, and duty. As the rewards become more institutional, the Navy wife's role will reflect these values with traditional behaviors.

A Final Word

While there is no proof that Navy officers' wives' behaviors have any influence on the Navy's mission, they do perform organizational tasks. When asked why they perform these tasks, two major reasons emerge. One is the moral support of Fowlkes' and Finches' wives: to enable their husbands to do a better job. The other is related to Hall's and Jans' notion of job identification: because it is expected. What ever their reasons, the fact remains that C.O.s' and X.O.s' wives perform tasks that by their own admission they are ill-prepared for. Since the Navy accepts

their efforts, cooperates with them in the tasks, and possibly benefits from these labors, it makes sense for the Navy to help wives do the job.

With FSCs, consultants on retainer, and its own management training courses, the Navy has the wherewithal to develop and conduct training sessions for the wives. Training sessions that address the expectations, skills, and resource availability for the C.O.'s wife role would remove some of the interpersonal problems. It would also enable the C.O.'s wife to do her job more effectively and with less emotional strain. The Army has recognized this. It suggests that strong skills in communications, decision making, small group process, and conflict management are needed in a C.O.'s wife (Gibbons, 1984).

The shore duty C.O.'s wife's role is very much one of social arbitrator and role model. However, the C.O.'s wife on sea duty is a manager. Since a husband's first command is during sea duty, it is the sea duty role that the C.O.'s wife first faces.

There are a few additional requirements to produce a meaningful program. The program should include both training in interpersonal skills, and the sharing of experiences. The training should be standardized throughout the Navy. Finally, in keeping with the Navy's stand that wives' organizational participation is voluntary, attendance at the course will be voluntary.

GLOSSARY of NAVAL TERMS AND WORDS

AOM	All Officers' Meeting.
Bachelor Enlisted Quarters (BEQ)	Residence of unmarried enlisted personnel, or married personnel without their dependents. Once called the barracks.
Billet	Job
Board	Committee convened to select candidates for promotion in rank, or for command positions.
CAG	All aviation squadrons deployed aboard a carrier form the Carrier Air Group. CAG also refers to the commander of the air group.
Call tree	To get messages efficiently to the wives in a command their names are divided into groups. Messages originate from a designated source who then notifies the branch callers. Schema represents a tree with a trunk, limbs and branches of callers and people to be called.
CAO	Casualty Assistance Officer (or team). This is the official team that initially visits the next of kin and assists them through the funeral and paper work for benefits.
Chain-of-Command	Hierarchy of responsibility and leadership.
CHAMPUS	A supplement medical program that pays part of the cost of civilian medical care when military care is unavailable.
Change of Command	A structured ceremony that marks the change in commanding officers.

Civil Engineer Corps (CEC)	Officers in the Navy engineer corps. Enlisted personnel are in the Seabees.
Commanding Officer	Also called CO, or skipper. Officer in command of a naval unit. The unit could be a ship, aviation squadron, base, submarine, or supportive facility. Support facilities include medical, legal, supply, and engineering units.
Commissary	Grocery type supermarket on bases for use by active duty and retired military personnel.
Construction Battalions	Better known as the Seabees. Non-commissioned personnel in the engineering and construction branch of the Navy.
Cruise	An at sea deployment.
Deep selected	Selected for promotion before eligibility time.
Department heads	Middle management positions. Usual departments are: administration, maintenance, operations, and safety.
Deployment	Operational commitments at sea, or on foreign shores. Deployments can be aboard ships or to overseas bases.
DESRON	Destroyer Squadron Command, a higher command echelon to whom the commanding officer of a ship reports. The destroyer squadron is comprised of several ships that work together as a unit.
Detachment	A component of a unit that is ordered to be attached to another command for a period of time. HC, and HAL units man detachments of one or two planes on smaller ships for periods at sea. The squadron unit remains at the base.
Detailer	Active duty personnel who assigns jobs.
DOD	Department of Defense
Duty officer	Represents commanding officer and acts in his name when the commanding officer is

	not present. This is an assigned duty that is rotated among officers in the command.
Enlisted	Military personnel who do not commissioned officers or warrent officers.
Exchange	Department-type store that sells clothing, sundries, electronic goods, etc. at discount prices. Located on bases for the use of retired and active duty military personnel and their dependents.
Executive Officer	Second in command of a naval unit.
Family Service Center (FSC)	Part of the Family Support Program. FSCs are located in the Continental U.S. and at overseas Navy and Marine bases. They provide educational workshops, counseling, and other resources for dependents and active duty personnel.
Flag	Admiral rank. Admirals have flags with the number of stars indicating their rank. (one for rear admiral, etc.). These flags are flown whenever admirals are in attendance.
Flag Secretary	A billet, or job held by an officer who acts as a type of admiral's aide.
Fitrep, or fitness reports	Evaluations by the commanding officer on each officer in the command. These evaluations play a major role in the promotion of officers.
Fleet-up	Move from executive officer to commanding officer within the same command. The process applies only to aviation sea duty commands.
Fly-in	The arrival of aircraft and crews off ships and carriers returning from deployments. These aircraft and personnel usually arrive a day or two before the ship docks. Not all aviation personnel are part of the fly-in.
HC, HAL, HS	Navy aviation designation. H is for rotor blade aircraft, C is for combat mission,

AL is for attack light, and S is for antisubmarine warfare mission.

Jacket	An officer's record file.
Junior Officer	Anyone holding a commissioned officer's rank below lieutenant commander. Junior officer ranks are ensign, lieutenant junior grade (referred to as j.g.'s, and lieutenant.
Masted	Non-judicial punishment administered by the commanding officer.
NAS	Naval Air Station. Major airfield and base for aviation squadrons.
NS	Naval Station. Home port for surface line ships.
NSB	Naval Submarine Base. Home port for naval submarines.
Navy Relief	A non-profit civilian organization funded by donations from naval personnel. It operates world-wide offices on Navy and Marine bases. Except for a few paid trainers and directors, it is staffed by Navy wives and retiree volunteers. Navy Relief offers aid to sailors and marines in the form of counseling, loans and grants.
Ombudsman	A volunteer position held by a dependent of a command unit. The ombudsman program is managed by FSCs and base chaplains. The ombudsman acts as a resource information link between the command families and the C.O. or other official naval personnel.
Officers' Wives' Club	Unofficial club for wives of officers.
Officers' Club	A recreational facility for officers and their guests, located on base. Bases usually have officers' clubs, enlisted clubs and chiefs' clubs.
On-base housing or quarters	Housing units on the base, for military personnel. Assigned by quarters

availability, although some quarters go with the job.

Page 2	Part of the next-of-kin packet that service personnel in war zones must fill out. This particular page lists the name of the next-of-kin.
Passed over	Not selected for promotion when eligible.
PCO	Prospective commanding officer. PXO is a prospective executive officer. These are officers selected for command who have not yet assumed the position.
Recall roster	Roster containing names and phone numbers of all officers and key enlisted personnel in a command. Used in cases of emergency to recall personnel from their homes to the unit.
Sick Call	Navy jargon for a visit to the doctor.
Striker	Enlisted member of the Navy who is working toward, or striking for, an occupational specialty.
Support Group	A club like group of wives and adult family members of a ship or aviation squadron personnel. These groups are active mostly when the command is deployed. Support groups are found predominately in the surface ship and submarine communities. Aviation squadrons have officers' wives clubs and enlisted men's wives clubs rather than the one unit.
The Navy Wives Club	Recognized by the Navy Department as an official organization for the wives of enlisted men.
Thrift shop	Clothing store located on base that sells donated items. Staffed by volunteers, profits go to a charity, usually Navy Relief.
VS	Aviation designation. V is the designator for fixed wing aircraft, S is for antisubmarine warfare mission.

VF, VA, VFA

Aviation designation. V designates fixed wing aircraft, F is for fighter mission, A is for attack.

Ward Room

Officers aboard a ship are members of the ward room, a dining and recreational location. Ward room refers to a place, and to the composite group of officers.

WING

Several aviation squadrons with the same mission are grouped under a WING. The WING staff is shore based and acts as a command center and administration unit for the deployed aviation squadrons.

APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. If you had (have) a son would you approve of him joining the Navy?
2. If you had (have) a daughter would you approve of her joining the Navy?
3. What is your child's (children's) opinion of the Navy?
4. Describe some of the things you do for the Navy.
5. Describe some of the things you do to help your husband in his Navy job.
6. What do you think would be fair compensation (or reward) for your work?
7. Would you be willing to have fewer moves if it would mean less chance of promotion to command rank for your husband?
8. How did you learn about the Navy life, its norms and behaviors?
9. Have you taught anyone about the Navy? If so how?
10. Do you think bachelors or divorced men have the same chance of being promoted in the Navy as married men?
11. Have you ever been in a situation where the C.O. was either not married, or his wife was not present? If so, who, if anyone preformed the C.O.'s wife's duties?
12. How, if at all, did this impact on the squadron/ship/command.
13. Were you ever in a command where the C.O.'s and the X.O.'s wives did not get along? Did this seem to affect the wives? The command? If yes, what was the affect.
14. What do you think is the role of the C.O.'s wife? The X.O.'s wife?
15. What do you think the role of the Navy wife is?
16. Has Navy life been a benefit or detriment to your children? In what way?
17. If you did not move frequently, would you have a working career?
18. What are some of the occupations/professions/jobs that you can have and still move around?
19. If you wanted to work, would you be willing to accept a job with the Civil Service?
20. Do you think civilian employers take advantage of the mobility of Navy wives in some way?
21. Do you feel part of the civilian community?
22. Do you think Navy officers' wives' clubs should be involved in charity endeavors?

23. What do you think the purpose of wives' clubs should be?
24. Are you a member of the wives' club?
25. What do you get out of your participation in the wives' club?
26. Have you ever used an ombudsman?
27. What do you think is the job of the ombudsman?
28. Have you ever used any Family Service Center resources?
29. Do you think the FSCs answer the needs of officers' families?
30. What are the needs that FSCs answer for officers?

APPENDIX B
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

INFORMANT

1. Name
2. Age
3. Ethnic identity
4. Previous employment, profession or career. (Do not list your work record, merely state what profession or job type you have held most often).
5. Current employment
6. Education
7. Home town
8. Please list volunteer, community, Navy wives' club, or committee work.

HUSBAND

9. Rank
10. Education
11. Years of service
12. Duty station
13. Home town
14. Age

CHILDREN

15. Number, age and gender of children
16. Current residence of children

MARRIAGE

17. Number of years married
18. Times married
19. Number of years as a Navy wife
20. Age when married

MILITARY

21. Number of military moves
22. Number of times had base housing
23. Number of homes owned or still owned.

APPENDIX C VARIABLES

There were twenty eight major variables considered in this study. These were:

1. Current Employment Status of wife
2. Husband's Rank
3. Husband At Home or Away
4. Duty Station of Husband
5. Economic Aid Given to a Military Person
6. Economic Aid Received From A Military Person
7. Economic Aid Reciprocated With Military Person
8. Economic Aid Given To A Civilian
9. Economic Aid Received From A Civilian
10. Economic Aid Reciprocated With Civilian
11. Psychological Support Given To a Military Person
12. Psychological Support Received From Military Person
13. Psychological Support Reciprocated With Military
14. Psychological Support Given to Civilian
15. Psychological Support Received From Civilian
16. Psychological Support Reciprocated With Civilian
17. Ombudsman Contact
18. Information Military to Military Person
19. Information Other To Military Person
20. Information Military To Civilian
21. Information Other to Civilian
22. Information Military From Military Person
23. Information Military From Civilian
24. Information Other From Military
25. Information Other From Civilian
26. Commanding Officer's Wife
27. Executive Officer's Wife
28. Place of residence

Definitions of Key Variables

Emotional Support contacts are expressed emotional support. Compliments, sympathy, understanding and affective remarks are in this category.

Economic Aid is any product or service purchased, bartered or given/received from the informal economy or in private transaction. Car pooling, dinners, home-made merchandise and lodging are examples of economic aid.

Information is any comment of both military and non-military content. Gossip and information on events, behaviors, services or merchandise are examples. News of friends or events are considered Other Information if it not specifically about military-connected persons or events. Military Information is about anything or anyone connected to the military.

Military-connected means active duty personnel, and spouses and dependent children of active duty personnel.

On-base residence is residence in military quarters on any of the four study bases.

Off base residence applies to all types of housing accommodations in the civilian community.

Commanding Officers' Wives, Executive Officers' Wives are wives of men who are commanding officers or executive officers in sea going and shore based commands.

Duty Station the type of duty the man is assigned to. It is either sea duty or shore duty.

Husband Gone means the husband was deployed on the recording day.

Current Employment is the employment status of the wife. Full-time means full time employment or student outside the home. Part-time is partial employment outside the home, and non-employed applied to women not employed outside the home, either in the informal or formal marketplace.

Rank the commissioned rank of the husband at time of recording.

Ombudsman Contacts interactions with ombudsman.

Organizational Work are tasks performed for the Navy that the Navy would ordinarily pay to have done. Decorating the officers' club, cleaning out the official guest quarters, conducting tours for visiting dignitaries, and planning Homecoming events are examples.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Barbara Marriott was born on June 1, 1932. She received her B.A. from Fairleigh Dickinson University in 1954. She spent several years in the world of advertising before she married Michael Marriott and became a Navy wife. Over the next 30 years she moved 18 times, lived in several states on the east coast, in Villefranche Sur Mer, France and in Dorney, England. In 1981 she received an M.A. with a major in human relations from the University of Oklahoma. She entered the Ph.D. program at the University of Florida in 1985.

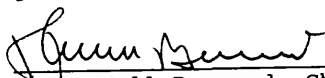
Barbara was a finalist in the 1984 Vogue Prix de Paris. She was the first Navy wife, and the first woman, to fly a demonstration flight with the Navy's Blue Angels. She is listed in Who's Who of American Women, 1983/1984.

Barbara developed and edited a series of foreign port-of-call guide books for the Navy, and a series of foreign duty station information booklets for school aged Navy children.

While living on the French Riviera she created and edited a small newspaper that had a larger local circulation than the international edition of the Herald Tribune.

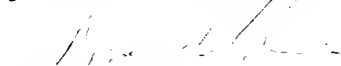
Barbara is a management trainer with Marriott Management and Training Consultants.

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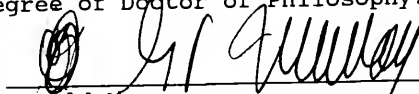
H. Russell Bernard, Chairman
Professor of Anthropology

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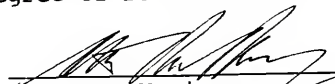
Ronald Cohen
Professor of Anthropology

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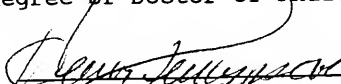
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Otto von Mering
Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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